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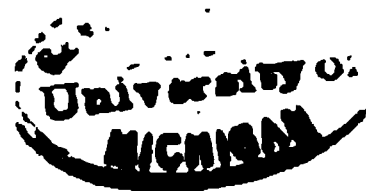
OF
André François

COUNT MIOT DE MELITO,

MINISTER, AMBASSADOR, COUNCILLOR OF STATE,
AND MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, BETWEEN THE YEARS
1788 AND 1815.

EDITED BY

GENERAL FLEISCHMANN.



From the French by

MRS. CASHEL HOEY AND MR. JOHN LILLIE.

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JAMES J. HAGE

Professor

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MEMOIRS OF COUNT MIOT DE MELITO.

CHAPTER I.

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THE danger incurred by the First Consul through the machinations of the conspirators who were now in the hands of justice, naturally recalled his thoughts to the execution of his projects for supporting his authority by a more imposing title than that of Consul, and one which, according to his notion of the influence of names on the mass of mankind, would render his person more inviolable. The addresses of congratulation that poured in upon him daily from all parts, and filled the columns of the '*Moniteur*;' the submissiveness of the Senate, secured by his liberality and expressed in the obsequious utterances of Fontanes; the fresh glory he had acquired by the promulgation of the Civil Code, which had been completed in the recent session; the marble statue decreed to him in the name of the French nation by the Legislative Body, as a mark of gratitude for so great a boon; all these things contributed to confirm him in his intentions, and the efforts of his enemies to destroy him had but accelerated his progress towards the Throne, by ridding him of his only formidable rival. For, whatever might be the decision of the Tribunals,

Moreau was for ever ruined in the estimation of the army. His at least apparent complicity in murderous plots, or in schemes for the restoration of the Bourbons, had deprived him not only of the confidence of the troops, but also of that of the Patriots, in spite of the uneasiness excited among that party by Bonaparte's ambition ; and, moreover, it had cost him the esteem of all generous minds, to whom betrayal, under whatever mask, is always abhorrent.

The First Consul was too clever not to turn these circumstances to account. He perceived that the Senate in general, many of whose members would have failed him had Moreau been more successful or more adroit, had feared for their own existence at least as much as for that of the Government ; and that having escaped that danger, it was ready to take any steps to prevent a recurrence of it, and would not be averse to bestowing a crown, if under shelter of that crown it might be certain of enjoying in peace the wealth which it owed to generosity that had a corrupting influence.

To satisfy the exigencies of the moment, it was, however, necessary to modify the plan originally concocted by the First Consul. The arguments adduced by the Senate to prove the necessity of filling up the void left by the Constitution of the year VIII., and the subsequent *Senatus-Consultum* respecting the mode of succession to the

supreme magistracy, were principally as follows: So long as the manner of succession should not be defined, the First Consul would be the only object of attack, whether from within or without, and were that successful, everything must come to an end with him. If, on the contrary, his successor were to be declared, if after his death everything was to remain *in statu quo*, if the progress of government was not disturbed, the fall of its actual head would become of less importance; for, failing him, there would still be security for others. Hence, there would be fewer conspiracies to fear, since even if successful they would be fruitless; and hence also would come repose and security, that until now had been wanting.

Heredity, therefore, and its accompanying advantages had become the great necessity of the time, and whatever had been Bonaparte's dislike to the system, he found himself obliged to accept it. We shall see, however, that, owing to family circumstances and the divisions existing among his relatives, he was not able to adopt it simply and openly, and we shall also see by what means he modified it, and what forms he essayed before he adopted that system which he finally selected.

The veil which had until then hung over these projects was first lifted by the Senate, four days after the closing of the legislative session. On the

7th Germinal (March 21) the Council of State was convened for an extraordinary sitting. We were introduced into the Cabinet of the First Consul, and shortly after our arrival the Senate, in a body, was introduced. At its head came Senator Lecouteulx de Canteleu, the Vice-President, who read the address that the Senate on the preceding day had decreed should be presented to the First Consul.

The address began by acknowledging the receipt from the Government of the documents relating to the secret correspondence carried on by Drake, the English Minister. The Senate, while expressing their indignation at the disgraceful conduct of that diplomatic agent, glanced at events then taking place in the interior of France, where they discredited criminals guilty of high treason, but with none to judge them. This was a flaw in the constitution, for the great genius who had framed it had shrunk from believing a crime of that nature to be possible, and therefore had not provided for its repression. But if gratitude was due to him for that which he had done and even for that which he had not done—since the omission proceeded from a noble magnanimity—the Senate nevertheless could not refrain in the present conjuncture from demanding that it should be repaired. They proposed, therefore, the establishment of a High Court and a National Jury, for the special purpose of trying

crimes of high treason. The speaker added; "It would not be sufficient, Citizen Consul, thus to punish crimes of which the safety of the State demands the suppression; in addition to this, all hope must be abandoned by those who might be tempted to imitate such an evil example. At the very least, crime must be made unprofitable to those who venture on it. We feel the need of institutions that will ensure to our children the happiness we ourselves enjoy, that will consolidate your work and render it as immortal as your glory. In short, it is indispensable that the vessel of the State should run no risk of losing her pilot, without being provided with anchors which in so dire a misfortune would prevent her from becoming a total wreck."

The First Consul answered in a few words; that he was touched by the sympathy of the Senate, and by the sentiments expressed through their Vice-President. He continued: "I recognise, as you do, that there is a defect in the constitution, with respect to punishment of crimes against the State, and that it must be remedied. The Government will attend to this during the coming year. With regard to anything that might tend to consolidate the present system, I shall always be ready to take the opinion of the Senate, and to act in concert with them."

Neither the address of the Senate nor the First Consul's reply was published in the '*Moniteur*,' but

rumours of this unusual event were in circulation everywhere and produced a very great sensation. It was generally believed to have been a preconcerted affair, and such was my own opinion. Joseph Bonaparte and Roederer, whom I saw in the course of the day, protested, however, that this was not the case, and that Boissy d'Anglas and Fouché, two members of the Committee entrusted with the reply in acknowledgment of Drake's correspondence, had suggested the two principal points of the address: the first, by proposing the creation of a national jury, in order to try crimes of high treason; and the second, by asking for a pledge of future stability. The other members of the Committee had been induced to adopt both propositions, without clearly perceiving the drift of the second; and as the actual word *heredity* was not contained in the address, these members were quite surprised that others should discover in it what they themselves had failed to see, although it was obvious enough.

The signal was given, and every one was full of the self-evident results of the step taken by the Senate, one which Fouché was much too clever to have suggested, unless sure beforehand that it would not be displeasing. No one discussed the first part of the address, which was regarded merely as a means of transition to the second. Who could

believe, moreover, in the guarantee to be given by the institution of a National High Court? The condemnation of the Duc d'Enghien, the law-proceedings without a jury in the case of General Moreau, the power of altering the ordinary forms of justice by the *Senatus-Consultum*, or even by simple acts of the Government, were instances of too recent a date to allow us to persuade ourselves that the new tribunal would offer a serious obstacle to the enterprises of a power which had hitherto never recognised any, or had overleaped them all.

But the proposal to establish heredity was regarded in quite a different light, and I must admit that, on the whole, it seemed reassuring rather than alarming. Not that any personal affection towards the First Consul disposed the people to look favourably on this fresh accession of greatness to himself and his family—never had he been less liked—but there was such pressing need of repose and stability, the future was so gloomy, the general apprehension so great, the return of the Bourbons with so many injuries to avenge was so much dreaded, that they eagerly strove to avert dangers against which they felt themselves defenceless. The national spirit, moreover, had been broken by a long series of misfortunes and revolutionary excesses. The friends of liberty and philosophical ideas had lost even hope; their long-cherished dream of a

Republican Government had faded, and, wearied with useless efforts, they only sought to escape from two misfortunes, equally inevitable on Bonaparte's death, the return of the Terror, or that of the Bourbons.

Thus, however revolting it might be to see heredity established in a new family over the bleeding corpse of a Bourbon, and by means which threatened illustrious soldiers with the scaffold, the prospect was not unwelcome; because of the apprehension which then prevailed throughout society. Nor did Paris stop at mere conjecture, but, half in earnest, half in irony, the capital sketched out beforehand and after its own fashion a plan for the new order of things then in preparation. It was now the beginning of spring, and the drive to Longchamps, in obedience to the dictates of Fashion, which just then consisted in a return to past customs, was more crowded and more brilliant than ever. After an inspection of the faces and the toilettes as they passed by, the critics occupied themselves with the great political changes now impending. Everything was regulated and settled. "Bonaparte to be Emperor; the dignity to be hereditary in his family; the two Consuls to be abolished; Lebrun to retire to his country seat; Cambacérès to be Chancellor of France; Madame Bonaparte to be repudiated, and the Margrave of

Baden, who had acted so efficiently as sergeant to Bonaparte on the occasion of the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien, was to provide him with a wife, in the person of one of the princesses of his family. Citizen Bonaparte would then be brother-in-law to the Emperor Alexander. He would have a child; it would be a boy. Time would soon have spread a veil over the origin of all these things. The theatre was ready; only a few persons had been behind the scenes, and spectators willing to pay would not be wanting. The curtain might be drawn up."

With such levity as this, such carelessness of the past and the future, did we familiarise ourselves with so momentous a change. A few witticisms, a few epigrams, a little ridicule cast on the coming titles, sufficed to console the Parisians for the loss of liberty.

In presence of so fickle a nation, why should the First Consul have hesitated? He was more than ever convinced that the time had come, and he did not let it slip. Two days after the presentation of the address from the Senate, he had a conversation with Lecouteulx de Canteleu, which the latter, on returning home, committed to writing, and repeated to Joseph Bonaparte on the 11th Germinal (April 1). I was present on the occasion, as were also Senator Roederer and Stanislas Girardin.

The First Consul had admitted the necessity of

confirming the actual order of things, and did not disguise from himself that heredity was one of the surest means of attaining that end. But was this the right opportunity, while war was being carried on, and before the conclusion of the trial in which Moreau was implicated? Could such a step be taken without the concurrence of the people, which had been obtained for the Life-Consulship? Should not so great a distinction be the reward of a splendid victory, or of a peace?

Such were the questions raised by the First Consul, and, as the reader perceives, they did not touch the theory which was already conceded, but only the choice of an opportunity, and the influence of circumstance.

Lecouteulx had answered these objections. He had pointed out to the First Consul that the question was not so much his own personal convenience, as that of the nation, and especially that part of it which had been active in the Revolution; that circumstances called for a speedy solution; that the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and the trial of Moreau, far from banishing these ideas, had made them more familiar to every one, and their execution more urgent; that the Senate had committed itself; that all the great bodies of the State were in like case, and, in short, that to hesitate was to increase the danger.

The First Consul seemed to yield to Lecouteulx's arguments, and a conversation ensued on the title to be assumed by the Chief of the State. It was from the first admitted that he could not retain one which was common to the two other Consuls; but the choice of the title he should assume was a difficult point. Bonaparte asserted that he did not wish to take that of Emperor, and that a denomination analogous to the title of Stadtholder would be more suitable. In short, would it not be better to retain the name of Consul, and confer a different title on Cambacérès and Lebrun?

The interview ended, and the First Consul had not yet distinctly declared himself. Yet it was obvious enough that the principal difficulties had been smoothed away, and that since the only subject in dispute was the fitting time and title, an agreement would soon be come to on all points.

When Lecouteulx had finished reading his MS., of which the above is a faithful abridgment, Joseph Bonaparte proposed to discuss the two points that had been left undecided.

As to the first, concerning the date at which the new system was to be established, we were of opinion that since the proceedings of the Senate had been made public, the result could not be too soon accomplished; that there would be a great disadvantage in leaving the people in a state of uncertainty

at a moment when their feelings towards the First Consul were less warm than formerly, and the necessity of immutable institutions had never been more strongly felt. On the one hand, the Revolutionists (and with them must be included those nobles and returned *émigrés*, who had attached themselves to the First Consul), feeling easy, since the death of the Duc d' Enghien, as to the return of the Bourbons, their one great subject of fear, were quite satisfied to see the supreme power fixed in a family which afforded them pledges on this head that could not be offered by any other form of Government. On the other hand, the moderate part of the nation, seeking for protection both from Jacobins and Bourbons, found the security it required in heredity. Partisans, of the ancient dynasty only, might therefore look with aversion on the new institution, but there was little to fear from them at that moment; there were even grounds for believing that the new system once founded, they would lose all hope, and would find it impossible to engage in further conspiracies.

As to the title which should be assumed by the Chief of the State, opinions were divided. And although I already knew which would be preferred, I thought it my duty to express myself openly on the subject. "It appears to me," I said, "that the First Consul should retain the title he now bears,

and bestow another on his two colleagues. By so doing there is a possibility of preserving for the State at least the *name* of Republic, held dear by a large part of the nation; and although the reality has already disappeared, we shall avoid offence to prevailing ideas by allowing the survival of the word. To this advantage we may add another, that of avoiding objectionable comparisons. A Consular family may be anything you please, there is no fixed idea as to what it ought to be, but people in Europe know what an Imperial family is. Comparisons will be made, to which there will be a ridiculous side. The members of the new family, uncertain of their part, will never know exactly how to behave, and will display either the awkwardness or the childish vanity of *parvenus*. But on the other hypothesis, on the contrary, everything can be most easily arranged. The power is as great, the advantages of heredity will exist, and Time will bestow on the title of *Consul of France* that touch of grandeur, that magic dignity that it has given to the names borne at the present day by the heads of other European States."

I did not go farther than this; and my opinion was neither adopted nor contravened. But when I found myself alone with Girardin, after the conference, I could not forbear from expressing the painful thoughts to which it had given rise. "This,

then," I said, in the bitterness of my heart, "this is the outcome of that Revolution which was commenced by an almost universal outburst of patriotism and love of liberty! Is all the blood that was shed on the battle-field and spilt on the scaffold—are all the ruined lives, all the sacrifice of what is dearest to mankind—to end only in a change of masters, only in the substitution of a family, altogether unknown ten years ago, and barely French at the beginning of the French Revolution, for a family that had reigned over France for eight centuries? Is our condition so wretched that we have no safety save in despotism; that in order to escape the evils that threaten us, we must concede everything to the Bonapartes, asking nothing from them in return; that we must raise them to the greatest throne in Europe, and give them the sovereignty over one of the first nations in the world as an inheritance, without venturing to impose the smallest condition on them, without binding them by any engagement, without setting up any new institution in place of those which have sometimes served as barriers to the caprices of our former masters? For it is not in a debased Senate, in a removable and ill-constituted Council of State, in a dumb Legislative Body, in a timorous Tribunate, begging for place, in a despised Magistrature, that a counter-balance against the immense powers confided to one

man will be found. And yet we must take this step, however painful it may be, for fear of falling to-morrow into the hands of still worse enemies! Dreadful alternative!"

But it was useless to discuss the question, we felt ourselves coerced by necessity, and could only mutually encourage each other to submit to it. Not that we felt any certainty that this last concession on the part of France, however complete it might be, would procure entire security. We were far from flattering ourselves that the remedy was infallible, we foresaw only too clearly the still remaining chances of foreign war, provoked by a never-resting ambition, and even of civil discord, if our troops encountered reverses. But the remedy, although insufficient to guarantee the future, at least deferred the danger for a time, and the French at that period had neither the spirit to propose anything better, nor the energy to execute it, had they even ventured to think of opposition.

Meanwhile, events were hastening on. The First Consul, having resolved to carry out at once the designs he had so long entertained, occupied himself exclusively with their realisation. The Senate, by the bold step it had just taken, had, as it were, opened the ball. But its lack of independence was too well-known for Bonaparte to consent to receive the supreme power from its hands alone. It was his

desire to receive that from the Revolutionary Party, and thus to hold the Sovereignty as it were from the hands of those who, twelve years before, had overthrown royalty in France. "I always intended," he said to his brother Joseph,* "to end the Revolution by the establishment of Heredity; but I thought that such a step could not be taken before the lapse of five or six years. I see now, however, by the representations made to me, by the eagerness of all those about me to carry this point, that I was mistaken, and that the thing is possible earlier than I had thought. Nevertheless, before deciding, I want to be sure that it is really desired, especially by those who took a great part in the Revolution. I want to know the opinion of the Patriots, and even of the Terrorists, and I will risk nothing until I am sure of their approbation. It is for this reason that I mean to ask for the opinion of the Council of State, not in order to have that of persons attached to my family, nor of men who for the last four years have formally expressed their wish for some sort of sovereignty, as the only means of consolidating my Government, but to obtain the opinion of the members on whom I cannot count so securely, and who, during the Revolution, exhibited sentiments of a totally opposite nature, such as Treilhard, Berlier, Lacuée, Réal, etc.

* This conversation between the brothers took place on the 12th Germinal (April 2).

The request must be made and supported by men of that class."

After this, Bonaparte entered with his brother into certain details of the execution of the scheme. Joseph perceived that while adopting, at least outwardly, the system of Heredity, the First Consul was far from admitting it pure and simple, and that he intended to introduce great modifications. At first he proposed to exclude his brother Lucien from the succession on account of his marriage; but on Joseph's declaring that in that case he would refuse to stand in the order of succession, he contented himself with the exclusion of the children of marriages not approved by the Head of the State. Some difficulties likewise arose respecting the Regency, in case of a minority, and Joseph Bonaparte, on informing me of the result of the interview, requested me to draw up a basis for that Institution in the form of articles. I did so, but it was labour thrown away: the ideas that the First Consul had confided to his brother, were far from expressing all his mind on the subject.

In a second interview, two days later, on the 14th Germinal, Joseph Bonaparte thought he perceived that the First Consul wished to revert to his first plan, viz., to declare himself Emperor, at the same time to adopt as his successor the son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais, and to appoint Joseph Bonaparte guardian of the child in the event

of a minority, and co-regent with the two other Consuls. This arrangement had been suggested by Madame Bonaparte, who discerned the fiat of her divorce in the adoption of a regular system of hereditary succession, and was ardently desired by all the Palace Party. As it fell in with the secret inclinations of the First Consul, there were great hopes that it would be carried out.

In the state of uncertainty into which this recurrence to ideas that he had believed were given up, threw Joseph Bonaparte, he begged me not to speak in favour of Heredity, as had been agreed between us, at the Council of State, in which the reply to be given to the First Consul, who had requested the general opinion of the Council on the subject, was to be discussed.

We met on the 15th Germinal. Defermon opened the proceedings. He said that the First Consul's desire was to know the true and free opinion of the Council ; that he wished personal consideration for him to be put aside ; and that the Council should point out the course of greatest advantage to the nation and most in accordance with public opinion ; but he should hold himself quite aloof from the discussion.

After this exordium, Defermon proposed three principal points for our deliberation :

1st. Is Heredity a better means of ensuring stability than an elective system ?

2nd. Admitting Heredity to be preferable, is the present a favourable opportunity for proclaiming it?

3rd. How can the Hereditary system be reconciled with the existing institutions which must be retained: liberty, equality, the forms of a Republic, in short all that exists at the present time as the result of the Revolution?

The debates in this conference and in those that followed were not very animated. We all felt that something was kept back, since, among the questions put to us, there was no mention of the title to be assumed by the Head of the State, and yet on that title would depend the new form of Government, and the final decision between the Republic or a Monarchy.

Defermon had begun by pronouncing himself in favour of Heredity. Berlier, on the contrary, though with great moderation, expressed his repugnance to it. How is it possible to combine, he said, two such contradictory ideas as Republicanism and Heredity! Fourcroy spoke in reply, and defended the opposite view, but his arguments were weak. Portalis spoke on the question with his habitual abundance of words, and refuted, or at least believed himself to have refuted, Berlier. Pelet and Bigot de Préameneu supported Portalis. Berlier's sentiments were shared by Boulay (de la Meurthe), Treilhard,

Dauchy and Béranger. The rest were silent; but it was evident that, on the whole, the majority of the Council was opposed to the new system, though they hesitated to express their opinion. Several members only wanted in reality to make sure of the First Consul's views on the subject in order to conform to them.

While these languid deliberations were proceeding, and public opinion was still uncertain, the First Consul endeavoured to ascertain for himself how far he might go with some chance of success towards the execution of the plan of which I have already spoken, viz., the restriction of the Hereditary system to the nomination of Louis Bonaparte's son, as his successor. I will now give the particulars of the singular steps taken by him, as they were communicated by Joseph Bonaparte to Roederer, Girardin, and myself. In this narrative, written out by me on the very day on which I heard it (the 18th Germinal), the reader will find a lively but faithful picture of the feelings by which the principal persons interested in the attempt were actuated.

The following account was given us by Joseph Bonaparte of a conversation between himself and his brother Louis on the morning of the 18th Germinal.

On the preceding day the First Consul, accom-

panied by his wife, had paid a visit to Louis Bonaparte. He went in state, escorted by a cavalry guard of thirty men, with drawn swords. Louis was not at home when his brother arrived, and returned only just as the latter was taking leave. He was surprised at this unusual visit and at the display with which it had been made. The First Consul's manner was cold and embarrassed; but his wife, taking Louis aside, gave him to understand, by a series of hints, that they had come to acquaint him with an important project, and that he must act like a man under the circumstances. She then informed him, first, that a law establishing Heredity had been framed; she then added that when a law was made, it must be obeyed, and that it would be even more advantageous to him than to others; that, according to that law, the right of succession could be conferred only on those members of the family whose age would be, at least, sixteen years less than that of the First Consul; that his (Louis's) son was the only person who fulfilled this condition; it was therefore on him that the inheritance would devolve, since she (Madame Bonaparte) could not give an heir to her husband; and that moreover, this arrangement offered a prospect of sufficient grandeur to the father, to console him for not being himself included in the succession.

Louis, who, in spite of the influence that Napoleon had exercised over him from childhood, and of the dependence in which he had always been kept, was a high-minded man, rejected this proposal. It recalled the offensive rumours which had been circulated concerning Hortense Beauharnais before their marriage, and although by comparing the date of that marriage with the date of the birth of his son, he must have been convinced that those rumours were groundless, he felt that the adoption of the child by the First Consul would revive them all. He had therefore previously refused to listen to the suggestions of his wife's mother, and declared to his brother Joseph that he would never consent to the proposal. But, he now added, was his consent necessary? The law might be passed, under colour of the general interest. Force was there, to be used for carrying out that law and even for snatching his son from him, that the child might be brought up in the palace. Madame Bonaparte had already hinted that such an arrangement would be necessary with regard to an heir presumptive. Louis, losing all self-restraint, in a transport of anger, gave way to violent fury against his mother-in-law, and brought charges against her which the most inveterate enmity would hardly venture even to utter.

Joseph Bonaparte, when describing to us the

vexation and anger of Louis, did not attempt to disguise his own indignation at the First Consul's project. He discerned in it the ruin of his own future. No inheritance, no more power for himself or his children ! By this most perfidious scheme he was disappointed in all his hopes, excluded from the business of Government, and beyond this, he was deprived of rights which would have been conferred upon him by the goodwill felt for him in the Senate. That body would certainly have appointed him to succeed to his brother, if the choice of a successor had been left to the natural course of events. As he spoke, his anger increased, and presently becoming passionately excited, he gave vent to his feelings in extremely violent language. He cursed the ambition of the First Consul and wished for his death as a blessing to his family and to France, and notwithstanding all our endeavours to soothe him, he left us, still in a state of intense irritation, and went to the house of his brother Lucien.*

We, the recipients of these details, were deeply pained by all we had heard. We could not disguise from ourselves that we were being driven towards a precipice. The reflections which we interchanged were sombre indeed and full of the presentiment of

* Lucien, who had left Paris in December, 1803, did not set out for Italy until April, 1804, a few days after the conversation reported above.

future misfortunes. In all these projects we saw plainly that France counted for nothing. There was no question of security or repose for the nation, nor of a political institution ; this was a conquest, a prey over which a disunited family were quarrelling. Amid intrigues such as these, we no longer discerned the representatives of a great nation offering to a great man perpetuity of power as a reward for his services or as a security against the troubles that would be caused by his death ; the reality that met our view was a group of women and venal schemers taking a child from the arms of his nurses to place him on a throne.

The absolute refusal of Louis Bonaparte to consent to the arrangement proposed by his wife's mother, the dissensions that arose in consequence of that extraordinary proposition, the disapprobation of all those in the family or the immediate circle of the First Consul who were not entirely devoted to Madame Bonaparte, obliged Bonaparte to modify his plan. He did not absolutely renounce it, yet he dared not encounter the universal discontent to which its execution would have given rise.

He therefore recurred to simpler ideas, and became reconciled to his two brothers Joseph and Louis, whom he resolved to place in the line of succession, thus acceding, at least outwardly, to the wishes of the Senate. Yet he reserved to himself the power

of reverting to the son of Louis, by means of adoption, a new combination introduced by him into the *Senatus-Consultum*, which constituted the Imperial system.* With this intention, he appointed Louis General of Division and Councillor of State, so as to render him conspicuous both in Civil and Military rank. At the same time he gave Joseph to understand, that in the existing state of things, it would be impossible to place a man entirely unconnected with the army in the line of succession, that the Generals would scorn to obey one who had not shared their dangers and their glory. By this powerful argument he induced his brother to accept the command of the Fourth Regiment of the Line, until he could appoint him to be Colonel General of the Swiss Guard,† an honour which he had already offered him six months previously, so as to elevate him to the level of the last king's brothers, one of whom, afterwards Charles X., had held that post. Joseph had refused it at the time; but in the position of affairs in which he now found himself, the desire of removing any obstacle to his admission

* This child, the object of so much solicitude, and destined by the affection of the First Consul to a most brilliant future, died young, and his death left the emperor no resource but that of divorce, in order to obtain a direct heir.

† In consequence of a capitulation concluded the preceding year with the Swiss Cantons, several Swiss regiments had entered the service of France.

into the line of succession, and, as he said, the hope of taking the First Consul in his own net, if his proposal were not sincere, induced him to accept it. Braving, therefore, the ridicule that attaches to a man who at the age of six and thirty enters the profession of arms for the first time, he set out at the beginning of Floréal to take the command of his regiment.

His departure, and the silence of Louis, which the First Consul had purchased by the honours he had newly conferred on him, left Bonaparte more free in his movements, and gave him greater liberty to ripen and carry out his plans. The Council of State, consulted by him, had not been able to come to an agreement on the advice which they should offer, and the First Consul asked each member separately for his private opinion on the three questions that had been submitted to them. The majority, in which I include myself, were for the adoption of the hereditary system, leaving to the Government the power of deciding whether the present moment was opportune for the establishment of the new order of things. All kept silence respecting the title to be assumed by the Chief of the State, since that question had not been submitted to them.

The First Consul having collected and examined these individual opinions, and being satisfied with them, summoned a privy council on the 3rd Floréal

(April 23rd) consisting of the two Consuls, the Ministers of Marine and of Foreign Affairs (Decrès and Talleyrand), the Chief Judge (Regnier), the Senators Lecouteulx de Cantaleu, Fouché, Rœderer and François de Neufchâteau; the Councillors of State Portalis, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Ségur, Boulay (de la Meurthe) and Treilhard, and lastly of Fontanes, President of the Legislative Body.

At that Council, which was held at St. Cloud, the question of Heredity was debated first, and adopted without difficulty. Next, it was decreed that the First Consul should bear the name of Emperor, that he should be given the title of Majesty, and the members of his family that of Highness, and that the Emperor should be consecrated and crowned. Fontanes proposed that the sword of Charlemagne should be brought for the occasion from Aix-la-Chapelle, and the ceremony was appointed to take place on the 14th of July.* The subject of the Regency was also discussed. The First Consul wished the reigning Emperor to have the right to confer the Regency on any member of the family whom he might select, and it was in vain to point out to him the advantages of an Hereditary system of Regency such as had been framed by the Constituent Assembly in the Constitution of 1791; he persisted in his opinion. He

* That date, recalling events so little in harmony with the new Imperial ideas, was soon afterwards altered.

likewise proposed to associate the two Consuls in the Regency, and expressed a desire that they should retain the titles they were then bearing. He even proposed to confer it on the heir presumptive, and to grant to the Consuls precedence over the other members of the family. But this apparent generosity was not accepted. Fouché rejected it resolutely, and spoke strongly of the inutility of the functions and the inconsistency of the title of Consul under the new system. And, as he was probably in the secret of the First Consul's real wishes, he caused this proposition to be rejected, thus sparing him in the eyes of his colleagues the ungrateful task of removing them to a rank lower than that which they had hitherto held.

After this the discussion turned on the institutions that it would be desirable to found, in order to consolidate the hereditary system, and Roederer was of opinion that *viva voce* deliberation on the laws should be restored to the Legislative Body, and that the Senate should be constituted into an Upper Chamber, which should sanction the acts of the Legislative Body, with which the Tribune would be associated. He proposed, in addition, that the Senate should retain the right of electing the Members of the Legislative Body.

Regnault, while agreeing with Roederer as to the first part of his discourse, differed from him on the

last, and pointed out, with justice, that the Senate could not retain the right of electing deputies for the departments, if the acts of the latter were to be subject to the Senate's approval. He contended that their election should be entirely independent, and committed to a body of Electors taken from among the nation. He insisted, besides, on the necessity of various other guarantees equally liberal in tendency, such as the formation of a National Jury, consisting of members of the Senate and of the Court of Appeal, for the trial of crimes against the State. Lastly, he urged an improved organisation of the Council of State, in order that appeals from Ministerial Acts might be carried thither directly.

Fontanes delivered his opinion in short sentences. He said that there must be monarchy in the Chief of the State, aristocracy in the Senate and democracy in the Legislative Body. He dilated somewhat on this theory, reverted to the sword of Charlemagne, and even alluded to Charles the Fifth's crown, proposing to send to Brussels for it.

Cambacérès, deeply offended by Fouché's remarks on the inutility of the functions of the two Consuls, strongly expressed his indignation.

The other members of the Council scarcely spoke at all. Bonaparte, without expressing himself decidedly, seemed to approve, on the whole, of the

suggestions that had been made,* but he announced at the same time that the principle of Heredity being conceded, he wished to be left at liberty to regulate all that related to his own family; that he only understood them, and could judge what steps it would be well to take, and lastly, that he himself needed guarantees. "Moreover," added he, "I admit the necessity of haste, if the affair is to be concluded by the Civil Power, for the army, I know, is ready to proclaim me Emperor; I have already received petitions signed by more than thirty thousand soldiers, and it is for that reason that I do not now join the army."†

The principal points of the drama having been prepared in this Privy Council, and our ears at last accustomed to the word Heredity and the title of Emperor, which had at first sounded so discordant, it remained only to put the piece on the stage and begin the performance. On the 6th Floréal (April 26), therefore, the First Consul sent a message to the Senate in reply to the address which that body

* It must be noted, however, that all the propositions made by Roederer and Regnault with regard to the Constitutional framing of laws, were rejected by the definitive *Senatus-Consultum*.

† These words were evidently uttered rather as a stimulant than in the interests of truth. I went to Boulogne shortly afterwards, and then had opportunities of ascertaining that the project of proclaiming Bonaparte Emperor had never entered the heads of the soldiers.

had presented on the 7th Germinal. The object of the message was to induce the Senate to pronounce decisively upon the nature of the institutions which had been declared necessary by the Address, and in this way to elicit a more precise statement. On receiving the message, the Senate hastened to appoint a committee with instructions to draw up a report on the subject. The names of the members composing it were submitted to the First Consul and approved by him. It consisted of Senators Lacépède, François de Neufchâteau, Roederer, Fouché, Laplace, Vernier, Lecouteulx, Vaubois, and Boissy d'Anglas.

The reply had been foreseen. But it was not enough that the Senate should declare itself.* This interchange of messages and addresses had too much the appearance of a preconcerted arrangement to please the First Consul. As he had already informed his brother, it was necessary, in addition, that the empire and the crown should be offered to him by a body which was believed by the nation to be more independent than the Senate, and that the offer should be proposed and seconded by the members of that body, who, during the Revolution, had been the most noted for their democratic

* The First Consul had also asked for the private opinion of the Senators as well as of the Councillors of State, and had obtained similar answers. That of General Davoust was remarkable; it contained a diatribe against divorce, and a panegyric of Madame Bonaparte.

opinions, so that those very men who had founded the Republic, should now be its destroyers. Among the number there must also be a man well-known as the active partisan and agent of the Bourbons, and even to have suffered in their cause—that very man must now proclaim their disgrace from the steps of the Tribune and declare them for ever unworthy to re-ascend the throne of their ancestors.

Bonaparte obtained all these things by promising three or four places in the Senate or the Council of State,* and by holding out a prospect of prefectures to about a score of ambitious tribunes. Curée, a former member of the Convention, was then chosen to propose the matter at the Tribunate,† and Simeon, who had been deported after the 18th

* Shortly afterwards the tribunes, Curée and Fabre (de l'Aude), were created senators, and Simeon, also a Tribune, entered the Council of State.

† To these motives must be added a special one, which caused the First Consul to insist on Curée's proposing the motion at the Tribunate. Curée, who had been until then of little note, had always believed that Bonaparte was working for the Bourbons, and that his real intention was to act, sooner or later, the part of Monk. After the death of the Duc d'Enghien, he came to the Tribunate, and while the majority of the tribunes were deploring that tragical event, he drew near to some of his colleagues and rubbing his hands exclaimed, "I am delighted; Bonaparte now belongs to the Convention." This reached the ears of the First Consul, who naturally had spies of his own in the Tribunate, and who wisely judged that the man who had

Fructidor, as an adherent of the Bourbons, undertook to second him.

The draft was made on Monday, the 3rd Floréal (April 23), and was to be read a week later; but the First Consul wished to see it first, and it was taken to him at St. Cloud by Fabre (de l'Aude), the President of the Tribunate. The manner in which it had been drawn up did not meet with Bonaparte's approval, and Fabre, instead of discussing the point, said to him: "Well, then, draw it up yourself. Curée will read it, just as you like to put it." And he left the document on the table. On the following day, Fabre received a note from Maret, asking him to come to St. Cloud. He accordingly went, and received the draft from Maret's hands ready drawn up in the form in which it was to be read. On his return home, he read it through, and perceived that it ended with these words:

"I propose that the Tribunate should express their desire:

"1st. That Napoleon Bonaparte, at the present time First Consul, be declared Emperor, and as

so stoutly declared himself against the Bourbons, was the most fit to raise him (Bonaparte) to the empire. An emperor from the ranks of the convention would, of course, in Curée's estimation, be the strongest guarantee against the return of the ancient dynasty, which was what he most feared.

such that he retain the Government of the French Republic ;

“ 2nd. That the Imperial dignity be declared hereditary for his descendants.”

He perceived, therefore, that the word *descendants* had been substituted for that of *family*, which had appeared in the original motion drawn up by Curée. This alteration struck the President of the Tribunal, and he hastened to call the attention of Maret to it. Maret assumed an air of surprise, and then affected to consider the use of either formula as a matter of indifference. It was, nevertheless, agreed upon between them that the alteration should be pointed out to the First Consul, and that if he consented to the substitution of the word *family* for that of *descendants*, the draft should be sent back in the course of the day (9th Floréal) with that change. Fabre waited in vain the whole of that day, and it was late at night before the document was returned to him, but without alteration, or any sign that his remarks had received attention. He understood from this that it was desired that the word *family* should not be used, and as he foresaw all the consequences of such a determination, and that moreover he was disposed in favour of the First Consul's brothers, and, in particular, of Joseph, to whom he was friendly, he acted on his own

responsibility, erased the word *descendants*, restored the word *family*, and returned the draft in that form to Curée, who, being unacquainted with what had taken place on the subject, did not hesitate to read it aloud just as he had received it.

But this incident, which became known, aroused alarm in the family. Bernadotte called on me on the morning of the 10th, and expressed the greatest uneasiness. True it was, that if the word *descendants* had been retained in the motion of the Tribune, the First Consul might have drawn a powerful argument from it in favour of his favourite project, and could have made use of that expression to limit the right of succession to his descendants, either natural or adopted. But Fabre's resolution caused the attempt to fail, and as I was informed of it early in the day by one of my former colleagues in the Tribune, to whom it had been confided by Fabre, I was enabled to allay the fears of Bernadotte.

The motion was made in the Tribune on the 10th Floréal (April 30th) as had been arranged beforehand: it was seconded by Simeon, and by a considerable number of the other Tribunes. Carnot, only spoke against the scheme, and Gallois, in a speech of few, but weighty words, insisted on the maintenance of the results of the Revolution, and demanded institutions favourable to liberty and

equality. The motion was adopted on the report of Jard-Panvilliers, and signed by more than fifty Tribunes, among whom, strange to say, was the brother of Moreau, then under trial. The name of Carnot is not among the signatures.*

The motion of the Tribune was carried before the Senate, who received it with approval, and replied on the 14th Floréal (May 4th) to the message it had received from the First Consul on the 6th of the same month, by expressing, like the Tribune, a formal desire that the Imperial dignity should be conferred on the First Consul and made hereditary in his family. Lastly, although the Legislative Body was not sitting at the time, the President gathered together the members then present in Paris in the Salle de la Questure, and this incomplete assembly expressed a desire similar to that of the Senate and the Tribune. Fontanes forwarded it to the First Consul with an address no less emphatic than his own speeches.

After these solemn proceedings nothing remained but to make the expressed wishes of the Senate and Tribune into a law, and give them their necessary development. For that purpose an extraordinary

* Nor do we find the name of my friend, Stanislas Girardin. He was then at the Boulogne camp, whither he had accompanied Joseph Bonaparte, and out of regard for him, had resumed military service. The First Consul had appointed him captain in the Fourth Regiment of the Line.

meeting of the Council of State was convened at St. Cloud on the 21st and 22nd Floréal (May 11 and 12) and the project of the *Senatus-Consultum* laid before it. As that project was scarcely altered, except in the wording of a few phrases, for the sake of greater clearness, and as no discussion took place on the principles involved in the new doctrines, I refer my readers to the *Senatus-Consultum* itself which appeared in the 'Moniteur' of the 30th Floréal, year XII. I will only mention that the reading of that act was listened to in profound silence, and that although all present assumed an appearance of satisfaction, surprise rather than joy was expressed on every countenance, especially when in the Article of Heredity, the exclusion of Lucien and Jerome Bonaparte was announced and the power of adopting an heir was conceded for this time only to the Emperor. The First Consul in vain urged the members who were in the habit of speaking most frequently to speak now. There was a general silence, and no important debate ensued. The Councillors of State expected to be appointed for life, but that favour for which they had been led to hope, was restricted, if not revoked, by a condition in the *Senatus-Consultum* that to receive a life nomination members must have served five years in the ordinary way. As the Emperor reserved to himself the right of regulating every half year the ordinary and

extraordinary service of the Council, and of appointing members at his choice to one or the other, and as not one of the Councillors fulfilled the prescribed condition, they all, as a natural consequence, considered themselves ill-used and were dissatisfied. Yet they only protested feebly against this arrangement, and the First Consul paid no attention to their timid objections. Finally, after two sittings, the *Senatus-Consultum* was definitively decreed on the 22nd Floréal.

On the following day, the First Consul summoned another Privy Council, composed of the two Consuls, the Chief Judge, the Minister of Finance (Gaudin), the Minister of the Treasury (Molliou), the Minister of War (Berthier), Senators Lacépède, François de Neufchâteau, Fargues, Vimar and Lefebvre, and Councillors of State Portalis, Treilhard, Lacuée and Defermou. The *Senatus-Consultum* was read and adopted by that Council, without alteration, just as it was supposed to have been framed in the Council of State. The next day, the 26th Floréal, it was carried by three State Councillors to the Senate, who referred it to a Committee, and again assembled on the 28th, under the presidency of Cambacérès. Senator Lacépède, on being ordered to report on it on behalf of the Committee, moved its adoption, and, no dissentient voice having been raised, it was at once put to the vote. The *Senatus-Consultum*

was accepted, with the exception of three votes,* and the Senate decreed that they would proceed to St. Cloud in a body, to carry it to the new Emperor.

The Council of State, the Generals of the Guard, and the officers of the Household had received their instructions, and were in readiness at St. Cloud by noon. Every window was occupied; great agitation prevailed; and all seemed waiting with impatience for the decision of the Senate. At length the sound of cannon announced the moment when the *Senatus-Consultum* had been made Law. It was nearly three o'clock. Shortly afterwards we beheld the arrival of the Ministers, who were vying with each other in speed. Berthier and Talleyrand were the first to reach St. Cloud, and to enter Bonaparte's presence. The others arrived in quick succession. The Councillors of State and the Generals of the Guard were assembled in the Great Cabinet. Towards five o'clock, the Senate came in sight. They were escorted by a regiment of Cuirassiers, and preceded by mounted officers of the Divisional Staff. Cambacérès and Lebrun occupied the same carriage, they had no special guard of honour, and were undistinguished from the rest of the Senate.

When the Senators had arrived, Bonaparte entered the Grand Cabinet and placed himself in the

* Those three negative votes were supposed at the time to be given by Grégoire (Bishop of Blois), Garat and Lanjuinais.

centre of a circle composed of the Councillors of State and the Generals ; behind him stood the Ministers, among whom Consul Lebrun took his place.

Cambacérès, at the Head of the Senate, pronounced a discourse in which the words *Sire* and *Imperial Majesty* were several times repeated. His speech concluded with these words : “ *The Senate proclaims Napoleon Bonaparte at the present moment Emperor of the French.*” A cry of *Vive l'Empereur !* arose in the Assembly and some applause, but it was neither loud nor hearty.

The Emperor replied in a firm and clear voice. He appeared the least embarrassed of any. Among those present, there was evident awkwardness, which he alone did not share. After his reply, addressed to all present in general, he went up to Cambacérès, to whom he spoke, as it seemed to me, with much affection ; but I could not hear what he said. Then he addressed a few words to Portalis and several other Councillors of State in succession. Some answered according to the new etiquette, using the words “Sire” and “Majesty,” and Portalis was one of these. Others became confused between the old and the new formulas, beginning their phrases with “Citizen First Consul” and then stumbling over those they had forgotten, and ending with “Sire” and “Majesty.” The whole ceremony did not last half

an hour. The Emperor brought it to a close by withdrawing into his private room. On leaving the Grand Cabinet, the Senate proceeded in a body to visit the Empress, to whom Cambacérès made a speech. The State Council did the same, and Bigot de Préameneu, President of the Committee on Legislation, was spokesman. The Empress replied with evident emotion, and in a trembling voice thanked us with a few kind but almost inarticulate words; we then withdrew and got into our carriages to return to Paris. It was nearly six o'clock.

The roads were crowded as we drove along. The firing of cannon and the extraordinary concourse of carriages had attracted many sightseers. But in the evening there were neither fêtes nor illuminations. The people were either ignorant of what had taken place, or they took no interest in the event.

CHAPTER II.

Creation of the great Dignitaries of the Empire—The denomination of *Citizen* is abolished and the title of *Monsieur* restored—Failure of a tragedy by Carrion-Nisas at the Théâtre Français—New oath taken by members of the great authorities of the State—New seal of State—Trial of Georges Cadoudal, Pichegru, and their accomplices—Suicide of Pichegru—Verdict—Moreau is condemned to two years' imprisonment—Clemency of the Emperor—Eagerness of the numerous place-hunters, and seekers after favour at the Imperial Court—Negotiations in Rome to induce the Pope to come to Paris and consecrate the Emperor—Dissensions in the Council of State respecting the date and ceremonies of the coronation—Debate on the framing of the Criminal Code—Attempt of the Government to abolish trial by jury—The author visits Prince Joseph at Boulogne—Simplicity of the habits of the latter; his affected disdain of the high rank to which he is raised by the elevation of his brother Napoleon—The army at Boulogne—Preparations for the descent on England—The author, summoned to St. Cloud, is appointed by the Emperor to undertake the High Police of the Northern Departments of France—His conversation with Napoleon on the subject of Prince Joseph.

On the 29th Floréal, the new appointments of Arch-chancellor and Arch-treasurer became known. The 'Moniteur' regulated the etiquette; the great dignitaries of the Empire were to be *My Lord* and

Serene Highness; the Ministers were once more *Excellencies*; lastly, the denomination of *Citizen* was abolished, and the use of the word *Monsieur* was revived, after having been banished from conversation and written communication for twelve years.

Public opinion, however, seemed at first little in favour of these innovations, and the very persons who in the beginning had been most adverse to the name of *Citizen* now thought it wrong to give the title of *Monsieur* to revolutionists and low republicans, and affected the use of the word *Citizen* in addressing persons whom they presumed to belong to those classes. On the other hand, the wit of the Parisians exercised itself on the new dignities and the new great people. Epigrams and clever sayings abounded in all directions, and were eagerly circulated.* The first performance of a tragedy by Carrion-Nisas, at that time a member of the Tribunate, took place on the day following that of the

* The following are some of the epigrams then in circulation.

“ L’indivisible citoyenne (la République)
Qui ne devait jamais périr,
N’a pu supporter sans mourir
L’opération césarienne.”

“ Grands parents de la République,
Grands raisonneurs en politique,
Dont je partage la douleur!
Venez assister en famille
Au grand convoi de votre fille
Morte en couche d’un empereur.”

“ C’est une belle pièce; mais il y a *vingt scènes* (Vincennes) de trop.”

“ Le sénat, après sa séance, est venu à Saint-Cloud *ventre à terre*.”

proclamation of the Emperor, and afforded a good opportunity of judging of the public feeling. The play, though not deficient in merit, was received with the utmost disfavour, and it was clear that the author was to be punished for the political opinions recently expressed in the Tribune by Carrion-Nisas on the establishment of the Imperial system. Apart from this, it was a blunder to have risked the piece under the then existing circumstances. The subject was taken from the History of Peter the Great, and included coronations, thrones and empires; the constant allusions to which the tragedy gave rise were received with extreme disapprobation. The effect produced by the piece was understood too late, and it was not again acted.

But no signs of disfavour, no ineffectual murmurs of the crowd, arrested the Emperor's proceedings. He pursued his course with his accustomed firmness, and everything fell quietly into its place under the new laws which now regulated France. While waiting for the nation to express its opinion on the question of Heredity—for according to the Senatus-Consultum of 28th Floréal it was to be referred to the nation—things went on as if it had already consented.* On the 2nd Prairial (May 22),

* The results of the scrutiny of the registers in the Departments were not published until the 18th Frimaire, year XIII. (December 1, 1804), the eve of the coronation of the Emperor.

the Tribunate came in a body to an audience of the Emperor. The Tribunals and the Magistracy presented themselves likewise; a new oath was imposed, and all the great authorities took it individually. The same ceremony was gone through by the Council of State on the 2nd Prairial.

The councillors were presented one after the other by the Arch-chancellor of the Empire, Cambacérès. The Emperor was seated in an armchair by a round table; on his right was his brother, Prince Louis, and on his left, the Arch-treasurer, Lebrun. Maret, Secretary of State, registered the oaths in the order in which they were taken. When the ceremony was over, the Emperor presided at a Council of State in which it was decreed that a certain number of prisoners, chosen from among soldiers and refractory conscripts, should be set at liberty in honour of the Emperor's *joyful accession*; an ancient custom hastily revived. Lastly, at the same sitting, the Emperor appointed a committee from among the councillors for the purpose of determining the ceremonial of the coronation and consecration, and to decide on the robes that should be worn by those persons who were to take part in the function. On the same occasion also the State Seal was discussed. It had become necessary to change it, as the former symbol of the Republic, a standing female figure, leaning on a spear surmounted by a Cap of Liberty,

was no longer appropriate. The Gallic cock was proposed, likewise a lion or an elephant, finally the Emperor suggested an eagle as the emblem most analogous with the future destiny of France, and this was adopted.

I have now reached the close of the special facts that came to my knowledge during the course of the long travail that brought forth the Empire. All is accomplished ; the new order of things is established, and is following its natural course. I shall now retrace my steps, and recall various events which I have omitted, in order not to interrupt the thread of my narrative during the continuance of the debates on the establishment of the Imperial system. The preliminaries of the trial in which Moreau or Pichegru were implicated dragged along slowly, and had been marked by the tragical death of the latter General, Pichegru, who was arrested on the 8th Ventose (Feb. 28) and imprisoned in the temple, and was found dead in his prison on the morning of the 16th Germinal (April 6). Round his throat was a black neckerchief, with which he had strangled himself by means of a piece of stick taken from a bundle of firewood. By means of this he had contrived to draw the knot sufficiently tight to destroy life, a mode of suicide which at that time seemed most extraordinary. In fact, it was difficult to understand how he had retained strength enough to continue to hold the

stick during the agonies of death. On the table besides Pichegru's bed was an open volume of Seneca, which he appeared to have been reading before he committed the fatal act. This event created a very unfavourable impression, and suspicions fell on the First Consul. But they were entirely unfounded. Joseph Bonaparte, who was with his brother when Savary brought the news, told me that the First Consul seemed greatly troubled, and so expressed himself as to preclude any idea of his participation in the crime. Besides, a few moments' reflection will convince any one that it was by no means in the interest of the government to bring about the death of Pichegru, an event which deprived the prosecution of one of its most essential witnesses, and of a prisoner whose avowals would have thrown the strongest light on the existence and nature of the conspiracy under investigation. The suspicions that had been entertained by the ill-disposed were soon dispelled, and had only a transitory influence on the public mind. Pichegru's body was exposed at the prison gates, but it was greatly changed, and Savary, who had frequently seen the General in life, could scarcely recognise his features.

After a long instruction, which lasted nearly three months, the act of accusation against Moreau and the numerous accomplices of George Cadoudal and Pichegru appeared on the 28th Floréal (May 15),

and the extraordinary tribunal commenced the hearing of the accused. Great crowds were present each day, and public opinion was openly in favour of Moreau. Several circumstances excited quite opposite feelings to those that the Government would have wished to prevail. Picot, one of the chief prisoners, retracted publicly all the avowals he had signed, and declared first that he had been induced to make them, by an offer of five hundred louis, and then that on his refusal, torture had been inflicted. This had forced him to assent to everything that was asked of him. He accused Bertrand, a police officer, of this barbarous treatment of him and exhibited his hands, still bruised and wounded by the violent usage they had received. But Moreau attracted the greatest interest. The act of accusation had convinced no one of his guilt; the evidence appeared to be forced to a conclusion, and to be incoherent in several parts, and Moreau was repeatedly applauded for his replies which were made with dignity. He recalled his victories, and gave his word of honour in support of various denials made by him. "My word," he said, "that Europe has long been accustomed to respect."

Nevertheless, the public feeling thus displayed in favour of Moreau and of the other prisoners was by

* That tribunal took the name of *Tribunal criminel et spécial du département de la Seine*. There was no jury.

no means the result of a moral conviction of their innocence. The plot, the intended assassination, the treasonable acts, the contemplated crimes, were in fact too evident to allow of any doubt of their existence. But the trial began on the very same day that bestowed an Imperial crown on Bonaparte. The contrast between the fate of the two Generals whom France had hitherto looked upon as illustrious rivals, between whom the glory of her arms equally divided, and of whom one was ascending the throne, while the other was advancing towards a scaffold, attracted towards the less fortunate of the two, the compassion due to misfortune, and there is little doubt that had Bonaparte remained First Consul, greater severity, or, at least, less partiality towards Moreau, would have been displayed.

After pleadings lasting nearly a month, the verdict, so long awaited, was pronounced on the 21st Prairial (June 9) at four A.M. Twenty-one of the accused were condemned to death. Moreau and some others were sentenced merely to two years' imprisonment, as a penalty incurred under the Correctional Police. The other prisoners were acquitted. Among those condemned to death were ~~Armand de Polignac~~, and De Rivière. The Empress ~~interested~~ herself warmly on behalf of the former, and Madame Murat and her husband were not less solicitous on behalf of Rivière. Their entreaties

were listened to by the Emperor, who was himself disposed to clemency, and were crowned with success. Using the prerogative secured to him by the *Senatus-Consultum* that had raised him to the throne, the Emperor summoned a Privy Council on the 4th Messidor (June 22), in which he granted a pardon, not only to Polignac and Rivière, but to eight others who had been condemned to death. The remainder, among whom was George Cadoudal, were executed. As for Moreau, instead of keeping him in prison during the two years of his sentence, the Emperor gave him permission to proceed to the United States; and to make it easier for him to settle there, purchased from him his house in the Rue d'Anjou, Faubourg St. Honoré, for a sum of eight hundred thousand francs (£32,000), far beyond its real value, and presented it to Bernadotte, who made no difficulties about accepting it. The amount was paid over to Moreau from the Secret Police Fund before his departure.

Such was the end of this great affair. It marred not a little the pleasure that his successes in other directions and the great title he had just acquired afforded the new Emperor. It was remarked, however, and not without appreciation, that his first use of the supreme power to which he had just attained was a deed of clemency and generosity towards his enemies.

As is generally the case, and more perhaps in France than elsewhere, the trial of Moreau and all its attendant circumstances were soon forgotten. The Emperor himself, although he had acutely felt the attitude taken by the people of Paris during the proceedings, and had in consequence conceived a secret aversion for that city, which had even inclined him to contemplate the removal of the seat of government, was aware that this would not be an opportune moment at which to show his displeasure, and he endeavoured to turn the public mind from the subject. Favours and largesses, the usual attendants of a new reign, were abundantly lavished on all those who had had a share in raising the edifice. The Council of State and the Senate opened their doors to Tribunes who, to obtain that favour, had promised to use their influence and had kept their word. Senatorships were distributed ; a new court offered many brilliant posts ; the highest families in France endeavoured to obtain them, and once more crowded to the antechambers and saloons of the Tuileries and St. Cloud. The nomination of members of the Legion of Honour supplied additional food for ambition. That distinction, which at first had been despised, became greatly coveted, and was most eagerly solicited, while addresses of congratulation and adhesion to the Imperial system succeeded each other without intermission, and once more

filled the the columns of the patient 'Moniteur.' Amid this universal infatuation only a few persons ventured openly to evince their disapprobation, and among these, we remark in particular Laréveillère, Lepaux and Anquetil-Duperron, members of the Institute, who resigned, in order to avoid taking the oath of allegiance to the Emperor that was required of their colleagues. Nepomucene Lemercier, author of 'Agamemnon,' resigned in like manner his nomination to the Legion of Honour.

At the creation of the Empire, the discussions in the Council of State turned principally on the programme of the ceremonies of the consecration and coronation. The Emperor was particularly tenacious of that vain ceremony. He was deeply persuaded that a religious anointing would render his person sacred, and he was most anxious to receive the unction from the Sovereign Pontiff, the head of that religion which three years before he had re-established in France. This was the price of the Concordat, and immediately after the Empire was conferred on him, he entered into negotiations with Rome to bring Pius VII. to Paris in order that he might pour the holy oils on his brow. While these negotiations were being carried on, either by flattery no promises, and sometimes also by threats, the principal points of the ceremonial were settled at a sitting of the Council of State, which took place

at St. Cloud on the 26th Prairial (June 14), and at which I was present. It was arranged that the ceremony should take place in Paris, and the date was fixed for the 27th Thermidor (August 15). Moreover, the Champ de Mars was selected for the scene of the ceremony, and from that day, it was to be known as the *Champ du Gouvernement*. The solemnity was to be both civil and religious. The Pope, who should be invited to Paris, would officiate at Mass, and bless the Imperial robes. The Emperor would receive neither robes nor crown from the hands of any one whomsoever. He was to appear, wearing the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hands, only divesting himself of those insignia to have them blessed; he would then take the oath, and reinvest himself with the crown and robes. He was to wear a long purple mantle, embroidered with gold bees and lined with ermine. The dresses of the Princes of the Imperial family, of the great dignitaries, of the Senate, and of the State Council, were, in like manner, prescribed with great magnificence, and mantles of ceremony, of greater or less length, were to be worn by those personages.

The Emperor sanctioned the whole arrangement, making very slight objections, though he was far from approving it. The date did not coincide with the arrival of the Pope, who had not yet signified his consent, and who could not in the space of a

month, prepare for, and accomplish so long a journey. A ceremony in the open air recalled in too many ways that of the Federation of the 14th of July, 1790, and, by reason of the immense crowd it would attract, involved much to which it would be imprudent for him to expose himself. But as the Emperor could always manage to secure delay, he made no serious objection. The words crown, sceptre, throne, all these discordant expressions had been uttered by councillors, who, until very lately, had been stern Republicans: this was the essential point; for the moment he desired nothing more. But in other sittings which preceded or followed this one, more serious questions were discussed, and I had an opportunity of perceiving that the Emperor would show scant respect to institutions that had been respected by the First Consul. I saw clearly that, had the Civil Code not been passed some months previously, it would have been modified so as to bring it into more harmony with the monarchical system, which he was already trying to complete by the restoration of nobility, and by unequal shares in inherited property, both of which were attained afterwards by an organic *Senatus-Consultum*. But if the recent promulgation of the Civil Code made a circuitous method necessary, it was not so with the Criminal Code, which was as yet scarcely framed, and means were taken to com-

plete it in such fashion as to render it a potent weapon in the hands of despotism. Meanwhile, the progress made in its compilation depended on the adoption of one or two vital principles, which would not perhaps have been questioned a few months earlier, but which, under the monarchical system on which we had just entered, had become a subject for discussion. I shall only narrate one single circumstance bearing on this matter, but it is as characteristic as it is remarkable. The Council of State was convened for seven A.M. on the 16th Prairial (June 4), four days before the verdict in Moreau's trial was given. The sitting took place at St. Cloud. The Emperor, who presided, was very gloomy. He showed great annoyance at the conduct of the lawyers employed for the defence of Moreau, and the other accused, and expatiated bitterly on the feeling displayed by the inhabitants of Paris in favour of the latter. He found fault with the Tribunal, with the forms of procedure, and although that one that was about to pass sentence had been changed into a *special Tribunal*, without a jury, he disapproved of the slowness of the proceedings, and of the irresolution of the judges. The sitting having been opened in this way, Cambacérès, so soon as the Emperor had ceased speaking, explained the real object of the meeting. "Before entering on the debate on the Criminal Code," he said, "it is needful that the

Council should decide some preliminary questions. Among these, the most essential is the following: '*Shall trial by jury be retained in criminal proceedings?*'" On hearing these words, our surprise was great. Very few of us were in the secret, and the majority could not have imagined that a question on the subject could be raised. But we were soon undeceived. Portalis, who was the habitual mouthpiece of the Government, on all questions of jurisprudence, whether civil or criminal, began to speak, and in a long and prolix discourse, such as he was accustomed to deliver, inveighed forcibly against the institution of juries, reverted to the teaching of our ancient jurisprudence, and spoke of the necessity of a technical education in order to judge criminal matters; of the security afforded to criminals by juries, who were either ignorant or governed by motives of mistaken humanity; above all, of the danger of committing the trial of political crimes to that mode of proceeding, and finally of its incompatibility with the return to the monarchical system, that France, happily for herself, had just inaugurated. Bigot de Préameneu, another confidant of Cambacérès, supported Portalis with arguments of the same nature, but with greater moderation. It then became quite evident that the whole thing had been concerted with the Government, and that Cambacérès had promised the Emperor that the

Council of State should decide the question according to the views of the two speakers, who, on account of the estimation in which they were held for ability and judgment, exercised a great influence over their colleagues in deliberations such as these. Opinions, therefore, were undecided, when Berlier in a methodical, though unprepared discourse, full of force and reasoning, triumphantly refuted the sophistry of Portalis and Bigot, and taking up their arguments one by one, demolished them by arguments which he propounded with as much calmness and dignity as his opponents. Portalis in particular, had shown temper and want of method in his attack. Finally, it was put to the vote, and the majority of the Council were for the retention of trial by jury. At the moment that the hands of the Councillors of State were raised to signify their votes, Cambacérès put up his eye-glass to count them, and when doubt could no longer remain, after a moment of mingled hesitation and surprise, he turned towards the Emperor, and stretching out his arms as if to say, "I did not expect this," announced to him the result of the votes.

During the whole debate, which lasted nearly two hours, the Emperor had been thoughtful, taking no part in it; but so soon as he heard the result, he closed the sitting abruptly and withdrew. His displeasure was undisguised.

It is to this memorable decision, the details of which were little known at the time, that France owes the continuance of trial by jury. The Imperial Government having failed to overthrow it openly, attacked it on the flank, inflicting many wounds; but, nevertheless, it still exists, and the share taken by the Council of State in the preservation of this salutary institution should not be forgotten.

A few days after the sitting of the Council of St. Cloud, of which I have just given the particulars, I asked and obtained a three weeks' leave to visit Prince Joseph* at Boulogne-sur-Mer. The wish that I felt to see him and to hear his opinion on the great events that had taken place since his departure from Paris, and my equally strong desire to witness with my own eyes the immense preparations for the expedition which was keeping all Europe in suspense, had determined me to undertake that journey: I had every reason to rejoice that I did so.

I reached Boulogne on the 1st Messidor (June 19). I found the Prince established in vast barracks on the left wing of the camp, on a height overlooking

* Since the promulgation of the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 28th Floréal, Joseph Bonaparte had received that title. In his capacity of Grand Elector, he was, in addition, a Grand Dignitary of the Empire, and part of the Luxemburg was assigned to him as a residence.

the sea and the harbour. He was hard at work at the new duties imposed on him by the command to which he had been appointed; he frequently inspected his regiment, the Fourth Infantry of the Line, one of the finest and most distinguished corps in the army, and was beloved by all his officers, whom he treated with extreme kindness. His habits had not been altered by his recent elevation; he was as unaffected and as accessible as ever; the rank to which he had risen, and of which he refused to receive the honours and the title,* was indicated only by the favours and benefits he lavishly bestowed. This amiability of character, this philosophic moderation which appeared sincere, this native goodness, never failed for a single instant during the time I stayed with him at Boulogne. I had the pleasure of seeing my friend Stanislas Girardin at the camp, attached as a Captain to the fourth of the Line, as I have already said he had resumed military service to avoid being separated from the Prince. In the intervals of their duties we walked in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, and had long talks which were both delightful and instructive to me. This confidential interchange of thought enhanced the interest of the circumstances

* He would not allow himself to be addressed by any other title than that of *Colonel*; even his servants spoke of him by that name only.

in which we were placed. I perceived that Prince Joseph was deeply mortified by the Article of Adoption, and that he could not forgive it. He expressed himself on that subject with extreme bitterness, and frequently in terms most insulting to the Empress. The seeds of dissension between the two brothers had not been destroyed by the admission of Joseph into the line of succession. That concession had failed to reconcile the two.

I was convinced by all that passed in our numerous interviews, that the great changes which had recently taken place in the organisation of the Government, far from having been brought about by the troops, were scarcely known to them, and that their execution had created no great sensation. Even Moreau's trial, though it had excited some interest, had not produced the profound impression I had supposed, and this confirmed me in the opinion I have already expressed, that, Moreau's dealings with English agents, and partisans of the Bourbons, had lowered him in the estimation of his former comrades in arms. Besides this, the French soldiers, well treated and kept hard at work, had little time to think about any subjects outside the camp. The officers were endowed with a greater perspicacity, but they were restrained by the habit of discipline, and by the hope of rapid promotion, and they continued to display an excellent military spirit,

although they had received with coldness, and even with a certain repugnance, innovations which were opposed to the ideas of equality they had hitherto cherished. But the name of Bonaparte was still stronger than those ideas, and exercised a powerful sway over the imagination of all. There was therefore, no doubt, that if the expedition took place, men and officers would bring to it all the zeal, devotion and courage which might be justly expected from a French army. And truly when one contemplated those brilliant troops, proud of so many victories; of that coast bristling with cannon, of those docks built as if by magic, and filled with countless vessels ready for sea; when one remembered the shortness of the passage, and the goal, which on a calm day, and beneath a serene sky, seemed so very near, the coolest heads were seduced into a belief in the possibility of the enterprise. It seemed impossible, whatever might be the naval superiority of England, that she could destroy all the vessels which would spread over the channel, and prevent the larger number, if favoured by fine weather and a well chosen opportunity from reaching the opposite coast. But I could not share the confidence inspired by the numerous fleet of gun-boats, that were to protect the transport vessels. Such frail barks, unable to brave bad weather, could not sustain an encounter with English ships, and a

few successful engagements which I witnessed, and under favour of which the convoys that had sailed from various ports of Picardy and Flanders, effected a meeting at Boulogne, did not make me alter my opinion. In such encounters as those, our formidable coast fought for us, and decided the victory ; but the disasters that befell the fleet a month later, under the very eyes of the Emperor, in spite of the courage and skill of the crews, was a sufficient proof of the inadequacy of our means. Moreover, I always felt sure that Napoleon would not make the expedition in person.

After remaining a fortnight at the Boulogne camp, I took leave of Prince Joseph, on my return to Paris, and reached that city on the 16th Messidor (July 5).

On the following Sunday, the 19th, the Emperor came to Paris to give audience to the Ambassadors who were to present their new letters of credit. The German Ambassador was however not present. Some difficulties had arisen with regard to his letters, but they related less to the recognition of the title of Emperor of the French, than to that of King of the Lombards, which Napoleon wished to add to it, and which the Court of Vienna refused to accord. These difficulties were removed shortly afterwards.

All the ancient etiquette of Versailles had been revived on the occasion of this solemn audience.

M. de Ségur, recently appointed Grand Master of the Ceremonies, took great pains to satisfy the various claims to rank, and to the right of entry to the different salons. It was a regular day of battle for him, but, thanks to his excellent memory, he came out of it gloriously and with as much success as if his talents had not fitted him for far higher tasks.

The Emperor perceived me among my colleagues, and spoke to me about my journey, asked affectionately after his brother, and told me that he intended setting out to join him almost immediately. This gracious reception, to which I was not accustomed, somewhat surprised me, but I was much more surprised when the next day I was summoned by the Emperor to St. Cloud. I proceeded thither the same evening at nine o'clock, and a long conversation took place between the Emperor and myself, of which I will here set down the chief particulars.

He informed me at the outset that he thought it necessary to re-establish the Ministry of Police, but that he had some new ideas about it. "It is my intention," said he, "to distribute the whole territory of the Republic between four Councillors of State and of these I intend you to be one. I believe that for the next thirty years, it will be impossible to dispense with a system of police in France; we must absolutely have recourse to it. But I purpose to direct that branch of the administration quite otherwise than

has hitherto been done, I even propose to change its denomination. Through the institution which I contemplate I hope to obtain accurate and exact information on the state of public opinion in the Departments, and to learn of what men the tribunals, the administrative authorities, and the electoral colleges are composed. In short, we are very busy just now with the material statistics of France, but for my own part I wish to procure its moral statistics and its moral geography. You can help me in carrying out this plan, and for that reason I have chosen you."

I was quite unprepared for this proposal, which was, of all those that could be made me by the Emperor, the least agreeable to me. Nevertheless, I thought it my duty not to decline it. However uncongenial my new occupations might be to my tastes and habits, I felt that in the discharge of my new duties I should meet with frequent opportunities of fulfilling my great desire to do some good.

When he had received my consent and assured me I should have nothing whatever to do with the secret police, the Emperor resumed the conversation and told me he had thought of Feuché as Head of that Ministry. "He has rendered me great services," he continued, "and is thoroughly accustomed to police business, for which he has remarkable talents."

“No doubt,” I replied, “it is not to be denied that Fouché deserves the kind of praise your Majesty has just now bestowed upon him; but he bears a dreaded name, and his appointment will not be popular.”

“But,” replied the Emperor quickly, “by appointing you, and by selecting another Councillor of State with the same views, such as Dauchy or Pelet (de la Lozère), or Bigot de Préameneu, I shall counterbalance the nomination of Fouché, and also that of Réal, who is to retain his present functions as one of the four Councillors of State.” *

My objections being thus disposed of, and the Emperor having decided on Pelet (de la Lozère), on my association with whom I could not but congratulate myself, the conversation took another turn, and the Emperor reverted to my stay at Boulogne. He inquired minutely into the conduct of his brother, and, after hearing the details which I gave him, and the praise with which I accompanied them, he complained of the line taken by Prince Joseph in placing himself in opposition to what had just been done in Paris, and in affecting Republican manners and customs at a moment when he (the Emperor) might have hoped to have been seconded

* Dubois, the Prefect of the Paris Police, was the fourth, but his jurisdiction extended only to the Department of the Seine.

by his brother in the great changes that had been effected. "Does he think," said the Emperor, "does he believe, I made these changes for myself alone; that I care greatly for the titles he appears to despise; that I do not appreciate them at their true value as he does? I only assumed them in order to re-enter Europe. The popular imagination must be acted on by those means which have the most action upon it. Is it not a great success for me, to have reached, from the point from which I started, a position in which kings write to me 'My brother,' and to require and obtain respect from Electors in the formulas of their letters? And Joseph, instead of appreciating all the advantages of this new order of things, spends his time in writing philosophical epistles to Regnault and Jourdan. To Jourdan! Does he think he can trust him and some day perhaps have his support? Let him undeceive himself! Joseph bears a name which cannot be made to suit either the partisans of the Bourbons or the terrorists. For him there is no middle course! After me, the Throne or nothing. To me, on the contrary, he writes cold letters which distress me. But the truth is he is not so goodhearted as I. It is true that at the first moment I am passionate, but I cool down again and an appeal can always be made to my feelings; Joseph is more resentful."

I replied to these complaints with reserve. I assured

the Emperor that no one could be more attached to him than was his brother; that the difference of opinion between them was not so decided as he supposed, and that it resulted in great measure from their separation; that, made by nature to love each other, one hour's friendly conversation would explain away all the misunderstandings caused by absence, and that when they should have met again, in their respectively changed relations, their differences would be removed.

The Emperor replied that he recognized in what I said the sincerity of my friendship for his brother; that he had nothing to complain of in the sentiments Joseph had at various times expressed, but that he failed to understand how it was that his brother invariably acted against the advice of those friends in whom he placed his confidence. This reflection led the Emperor to speak of Joseph's refusal of the Chancellorship of the Senate some months previously. "I had prepared everything," he continued, "for his residence at the Luxembourg, and for his using that dignity as a first step by which he should rise to the position he is now holding. I had put the 'Prêteurs' before him, expressly to conceal my hand and to avoid startling anybody. You know his conduct at that time, his speeches at home, and at that same Luxembourg to which he now wants to return in the very capacity he then

rejected.* His refusal compelled me to make a soldier of him ; a curious idea, but it was my only remaining resource. Besides there is no great harm in it. For the next thirty years a soldier will be needed to govern France, and it was necessary Joseph should become one. Now, at least, he knows what it is ; epaulettes don't frighten him ; he can get on horseback and command like anybody else. He must stick to that ; he must get promotion ; a decent wound, and a reputation. It is not so difficult as you might think. I shall do for him what I did for Moreau ; I will give him a bigger army than the enemy's ; he shall have everything that is easy to do ; I will keep the rest for myself. With all this, he can win a battle, and there he is on a line with the other military leaders."

I demurred to this last idea. "I do not believe," I said to the Emperor, "that Prince Joseph can think of seriously beginning a military career, at his age, or of seeking for glory in one. There are, at the present time, too many established military reputations to leave a hope of making one at so small a cost. That which was possible at the beginning of the Revolution is no longer possible. Besides, Prince Joseph is the natural head of the Civil system :

* As Grand Elector, Prince Joseph would preside over the Senate under certain circumstances, and his new duties were in some sort similar to those of the Chancellorship that he had scorned to accept.

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that is his place; and, although I anticipate a good result from his residence in camp, his true place—where his success, I believe, will be certain—is the Presidency of the Senate and the Councils.

The Emperor interrupted me. “I intend,” said he, “to recall him almost immediately, and to provide him with a suitable establishment.”

And then, after dwelling strongly on his affection for his brother, who, he said, had always been his favourite, he dismissed me.

On the following day the Council of State was summoned to meet at St. Cloud. The Emperor presided, announced the re-establishment of the Ministry of Police, with the modifications of which he had already informed me, and proposed to change its name to that of Ministry of Interior Relations. All was approved of except the last proposition, which Cambacérès opposed as a mistake, an uncalled for scruple of delicacy, and it was negatived. I had greatly desired that the Council should adopt it, and from what the Emperor had told me, I hoped that they would have done so. But although I was disappointed in this, I had gone too far to draw back, and I entered at once on my new duties. In the division of the territory of France assigned to me were included the departments of the North, and especially those on the left bank of the Rhine, inhabited by industrious,

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and, generally speaking, peaceful people, whose moderate opinions had kept them aloof from the political agitation which had so often disturbed the Southern and Western provinces. The departments under my charge asked only for peace and for protection in their industrial pursuits, or rather, for permission to carry them on without interference. So far as these benefits depended on my influence, they enjoyed them. I neither permitted inquisitorial espionage, nor disturbed the manufacturers or their workshops; and during the time that I retained my post, there was never any occasion for the interference of the police. I had, in fact, to temper the zeal of certain prefects, who, in order to prove their devotion to the new order of things, created more enemies than it really had, so that they might have the glory of combating them. Among these over zealous persons was M. de Vaublanc, then Prefect of the Department of the Moselle, who never thought he had sufficiently proved his devotion to the Emperor, unless he had awakened his suspicions of all those under his administration who either did not share his sentiments or displayed them with less warmth and enthusiasm than his own.

I have little to say about my new duties, which, as I have before observed, lay quite apart from affairs of police properly so called, which were exclusively

reserved to Fouché and Dubois. My occupations increased, and filled up almost every moment of my time, without in any way extending my opportunities for observation. I shall therefore continue to record matters of more general interest, and which may hereafter serve as materials for the history of a memorable epoch.

CHAPTER III.

The ceremonial of the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour in Paris—The Emperor proceeds to Boulogne and performs the same ceremony at the camp—His return to Paris is followed by that of Prince Joseph—Russia and England—The Emperor's satisfaction at the prospect of a Continental war—He discloses gigantic projects to his generals in order to stimulate their ambition—He detaches himself from the Republican party, and inclines to the old nobility—The ambassador of Austria is furnished with new letters of credit to the Emperor of the French—The Pope consents to come to Paris for the Coronation—That solemnity is definitely fixed for the beginning of December—The formation of the Emperor's household and of those of his brothers—Curious omission in the wording of the National Vote on the Imperial succession—Discussion on the ceremonial of the coronation—Violent altercation between Napoleon and Joseph—An explanation takes place between the Emperor and Prince Joseph at Fontainebleau, in consequence of which the latter conforms to the views of his brother—The result of the votes of the people on the Imperial system is taken in State to the Tuileries by the Senate—Coronation and consecration of the Emperor and Empress, followed by numerous fêtes—Solemn opening of the Legislative session—Addresses from the Legislative Body and the Tribunate—An incident relating to the terms used in those addresses.

BEFORE setting out for Boulogne, where he was anxious to show himself to the army, and to receive

from the acclamations of his soldiers the confirmation of the title conferred on him by the Senate, the Emperor resolved to make a display of all his grandeur on the occasion of distributing the decorations of the Legion of Honour, and thus to usher in the military pomp which was to attend the same solemn celebration at the camp.

The ceremony took place in Paris, on Sunday, the 20th Messidor, Year XII. (July 16, 1804), in the Church of the Invalides. On his way thither, the Emperor was, on the whole, more warmly received than I had expected. Public feeling seemed less hostile, either out of weariness or because people remembered the great and useful deeds which Napoleon had done. The appearance of the church, hung with the trophies of the numerous victories associated with the name of Bonaparte, was magnificent. Every face beamed with joy and satisfaction. The Emperor, seated on his throne, distributed decorations to all the members of the Legion then in Paris, and the strange medley of men who received them made a deep impression. It was gratifying to see services so diverse, merit and talent so different, rewarded with the same honours. The idea was a grand one, and ought to ensure the duration of an institution established on so noble a principle. Time has confirmed that happy augury, and, notwithstanding the numerous attacks

it has sustained since its foundation, it still exists. Of all institutions of the kind, it is, in fact, the only one that, strictly speaking, can be regarded as reasonable.

So soon as the ceremonies were concluded in Paris, the Emperor set out to renew them at the Boulogne Camp with a military display of the greatest magnificence. The subaltern officers and soldiers who had previously obtained arms of honour received the same decoration as their officers, and this uniformity of reward, among classes hitherto held apart by ancient prejudice, kindled fresh ardour in the troops. Policy had never made a better calculation; never had deeper devotion or more of that emulation which gives birth to prodigies of valour been aroused in the soldier. It is true that it involved a substitution of the love of glory and distinction for the love of liberty by which the soldier had been animated in the early years of the Revolution; but the former feeling served the purpose of the monarch and the conqueror better than the latter, and if, as citizens, we cannot praise the end that Napoleon desired to attain, as philosophers we cannot withhold our admiration from the means he employed.

The two brothers met again during the stay of the Emperor at Boulogne, and from what Girardin wrote to me, the interview was not unfriendly. A few days after the Emperor's arrival in Paris, Prince Joseph

also returned thither. He assumed his various dignities, presided over the Senate on one occasion as Grand Elector, and took up his residence in the apartments of the Luxembourg that had been reserved for his use. I visited him, and, in the course of a long conversation, I gathered much information, both on the state of our foreign relations and on the intentions of the Emperor.

The political horizon was darkening at the close of Year XII. and we were already threatened with a rupture with Russia. England had cleverly made use of the dissatisfaction created at St. Petersburg by the death of the Duc d'Enghien—a dissatisfaction increased by M. de Markoff's dispatches—to contract a fresh alliance with Russia. The two powers were united by resentment against France; but Napoleon, placed between the two alternatives of peace or of attempting a descent on England, and having little hope of succeeding in the first, even had he sincerely desired it, while dreading the uncertainty and the danger involved in the last, and conscious meanwhile of the necessity of regaining popularity by some brilliant action that would dazzle the imagination of the people, Napoleon, I say, looked with very little alarm on the prospect of a Continental war. Such a war would afford him the only honourable escape from the difficult position in which he found himself, and in his heart he desired much more than he

feared it. Full of confidence in his great military talents and in the temper of his soldiers, he saw in war a means of resuming the struggle on ground that suited him, and where fresh triumphs would atone for the elevation to which he had reached. He therefore took great pains to revive the ambition of his generals, who were beginning to feel a longing for rest, by opening up to their imagination a new and splendid career. "What I have accomplished hitherto," he said to his brothers and to a few general officers with whom he was on familiar terms, "is nothing. There will be no repose for Europe until she is under one only Head—an Emperor whose subalterns should be kings, who should distribute kingdoms among his lieutenants, making of one, the King of Italy, giving Bavaria to another, raising a third to be Landamman of Switzerland, and a fourth to be Stadtholder of Holland, while all of them should hold places in the Imperial Household, with titles of Grand Cup-Bearer, Grand Butler, Grand Equerry, Grand Huntsman, etc. It may be said that this plan would be an imitation of the Empire of Germany, and that the idea is not a new one; but there is nothing absolutely new: political institutions do but revolve in a circle, and it is often necessary to return to what has been done before.

"Nor," added the Emperor, "do I regret having acted as I did towards the Duc d'Enghien. Only

thus could I remove all doubt as to my real intention, and destroy the hopes of the Bourbonists. In short, I cannot disguise from myself that I shall only be secure on my throne when not a single Bourbon is in existence; and there is now one less of them. He was the last of the great Condé's blood; the last heir of the grandest and fairest name of that house. He was young, bright, courageous, and consequently my most dangerous enemy. It was a sacrifice absolutely necessary for my safety and my greatness. At the present moment there remain but the two sons of the Count d'Artois, both without children, one of them unmarried, and not likely to find a wife even among our enemies. England has refused him one of her daughters; Russia will have none of his alliance, because both powers know that some day peace must be made, and that entanglements of that kind would render it impossible. I have thus, as far as it was practicable, reduced the number of chances against me. And not only would I do what I have done over again, if necessary, but to-morrow, if I had the chance, I would do the same by the two last scions of the family."

In such fashion as this, in conversation with his brother and his trusty generals, Murat, Lannes, Ney, and a few others, did the Emperor unfold the future, and by means of brilliant prospects for themselves, make them partners in his Titanic designs. But in

proportion as he gained the affection of the army and its chief officers, he began to separate himself from the Republican party. He was glad to have lowered it in public opinion by the concessions he had obtained from it in favour of the Imperial system ; and, so soon as he regarded it as no longer necessary to him, he began to give it the cold shoulder and to turn towards the old nobles. He appointed them to places at his Court, and thought he could bind them to himself by the favours he bestowed. This was a strange mistake, and he afterwards experienced its fatal consequences.

Meanwhile, every European Power, with the exception of England and Russia, was yielding to his newly-acquired rank, and recognising him as the Emperor of the French. Austria, who had hesitated for a while, but who felt herself as yet unequal to the aggression she contemplated, and which in fact she attempted a year later, despatched her ambassador to Paris with fresh letters of credit in the month of Fructidor ; and Napoleon, in return for that concession, endeavoured to allay the uneasiness of the Emperor of Germany concerning the title of King of Lombardy. He announced his formal intention of separating that part of Italy from the Crown of France, and of erecting it into a kingdom, to be bestowed on his brother Joseph, if that Prince, on accepting it, would renounce his right of succession to

the Imperial Throne of France. It will be seen hereafter that Joseph's refusal to consent to this renunciation, by disconcerting Napoleon's project, became the occasion of further and more serious dissensions between the brothers than those that already existed.

Although the Emperor felt his seat on the throne more secure after his recognition by foreign Courts, who thus, as it were, legitimized his elevation, he did not consider himself altogether a sovereign so long as a religious ceremony had not consecrated the crown he had placed on his head. The date of this solemn ceremony, which had been fixed at first for the 26th Messidor (July 14), had been postponed to the 18th Brumaire, Year XIII. (Nov. 9, 1804). But certain of the reasons that had caused the rejection of the former date were equally opposed to the adoption of the latter. That date would also have recalled recollections little in harmony with the recent changes. In particular, it would have brought to mind the services of certain men who had greatly contributed to the success of the day, the most remarkable being that same Lucien Bonaparte who was now struck out of the line of succession and had been sent into exile. Moreover the Pope still hesitated to undertake a journey to Paris. Caffarelli, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, who had been despatched to Rome to obtain the consent of

Pius VII. to the journey had been obliged to have recourse to threats in order to wrest it from him. At length, the Pope was about to set out, but it was impossible to insist on rapid travelling for an aged man, especially at so late a season of the year, and in any case it was impossible for the Pontiff to arrive before the end of Brûmaire (middle of November). The consecration was therefore definitely fixed for the beginning of December.

It is remarkable that at the very time when he was soliciting the Pope to come to Paris for the consecration, Napoleon was strongly opposing the return of the Jesuits, who were coming back to France under the name of *Pacanaristes*, *Fathers of the Faith*, etc. On the 18th Vendémiaire, Year XIII. (October 10, 1804), he gave positive orders to the Minister of Police to oppose their establishment in France, as well as that of any other religious association of men, of whatsoever kind. "I will have no religious militia in France," he wrote.

In the interval, before the coronation, the Emperor employed himself in forming his own and his brother's households on the following principles. "Both my household and yours," said he to Prince Joseph, "if they are to be worth anything, must consist only of military men and of the ancient nobility. You must select from among the Senators and Councillors of State, of whom you have already

thought, those only who fulfil at least one of these conditions; the others must be excluded, and their wives also. You must choose your officers and your ladies of the palace among the old nobility, especially among the nobles of countries recently united to France, such as Belgium and Piedmont. Follow my example; I have chosen, Salms, Arembergs, Larochefoucaulds, Montesquious, for my household and my wife's. Do the same; there are plenty of noble names left, among whom you can suit yourself."

In this way did the Emperor reprove his brother, who had thought of Boissy d'Anglas, Jaucourt, Girardin, and me, for he showed great friendliness towards all of us, and wished to attach us especially to himself, either in our own persons or that of our wives. The Emperor blamed in particular his choice of Boissy d'Anglas and of Jaucourt, on account of their religion. "It is scarcely the moment," said he to Joseph, "when I am sending for the Pope to consecrate me, for you to surround yourself with Protestants." The Prince persisted, nevertheless, in a part of his design. Girardin and Jaucourt were appointed to his household, the former as First Equerry, and the latter as First Chamberlain. My wife was made Lady of the Palace to the Princess. But this diversity of views soon occasioned further grave domestic dissension.

A curious incident which occurred a few days after the above conversation also contributed to darken the clouds now lowering in the Imperial Family. During the month of Brûmaire, the *Senatus-Consultum* was being prepared which was to announce, prior to the coronation, the return of the votes of the French people, recognising the succession of the Imperial dignity in the family of Bonaparte. It was Roederer's duty to make this report, and in drawing it up, he thought it well to insist on the advantages of the established mode of succession, particularly on the Article which conferred the Imperial dignity on the brothers of the Emperor, in case of the death of the latter without leaving either children, of his own, or by adoption. But on examining the terms of the vote, he perceived that this very disposition was wanting, and that consequently the nation had voted only for the descendants of the Emperor's brother, and not his brothers themselves. The vote, in fact, was drawn up in the following terms:

“The people desire the Heredity of the Imperial dignity to be vested in the direct, natural, legitimate and adopted descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, natural and legitimate descendants of Joseph and of Louis Bonaparte, as regulated by the *Senatus-Consultum* of 28th Floréal, Year XII.”

This provision formed Article XVI. of the *Senatus-Consultum*, but on comparing it with Article II. treat-

ing of the succession, it will be seen that it is incomplete, and that before the words, "*in the descendants of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte*" these others are wanting : "*In the persons of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte.*" Through the omission of these, the individual rights of the two brothers to the succession were not made to rest on the National will, but only on the provisions of the *Senatus-Consultum*, a far less solemn guarantee than that which would result from a vote given by the people and publicly proclaimed with the greatest pomp. From this defective wording, it followed that Joseph having no son, the succession reverted to the son of Louis, even had he not attained the age when he might be adopted ; thus systematizing the Emperor's favourite project, which had already caused so much alarm to the rest of the family, and which they had found it so hard to circumvent.

Now, was this omission—or this restriction—whichever it may be called—the result of mere unnoticed carelessness, or of design ? It was difficult to suppose it could have escaped the piercing glance of the Emperor, and the pains he took to remove everything from the report on which Rœderer was engaged that might have repaired the blunder, proved that at least he intended to keep in reserve the power it afforded him. These curious particulars were given me by Rœderer, on the 13th

Brûmaire (Nov. 4). On the preceding day he had had a long conversation on the subject with Napoleon, which, treating as it did, of the most delicate matter that could be discussed with the Emperor, had been very impassioned and full of bitter complaints of his brothers, more especially of Joseph. Napoleon protested that, in spite of all their endeavours, his wife should be crowned, and that he would seek for support in her family since he could not find it in his own.

Such was the state of feeling on both sides, when the Emperor, as the arrival of the Pope drew near, summoned a final council at St. Cloud, on the 26th Brûmaire (Nov. 17), for the definitive regulation of the ceremonial, and the various circumstances of the consecration and coronation. The Council consisted of the two brothers of the Emperor; of Arch-chancellor Cambacérès; Arch-treasurer Lebrun; Champagny, Minister of the Interior; Talleyrand, Grand Chamberlain; Ségur, Grand Master of the Ceremonies; Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Court; and Caulaincourt, Grand Equerry. A great number of points were discussed, and agreed to without difficulty, and the regulations as to costumes, which had been decreed by the Council of State on the 26th Prairial, were confirmed with very slight alterations. But the sitting did not terminate as peaceably as it had begun. The Emperor, revert-

ing to the question of costumes, suggested that the attire which had been arranged for the Princes of his family, and for the high dignitaries, and which principally consisted of a long mantle, almost like his own, and of even a more brilliant colour, would cause something like confusion between him and them, and that with the exception of himself, no one present, whatever his rank and dignity should appear in a long mantle. The Arch-chancellor listened in consternation. "What would the public think when they did not see the costumes they had already heard of and expected? What would the tailors and embroiderers think, who had already begun their work, and whose labours would have to be stopped? If only this alteration had been made, before the first arrangement had become generally known, it would have been easy to agree to it; in that case it would have been merely a private affair, and few persons would have been aware of the change." The Emperor seemed very little affected by these lamentations, and, turning to Prince Joseph, asked him for his opinion.

The Prince saw no objection to the proposed alteration, and gave his reasons readily. "The grand mantle," said he, "the ermine-bordered mantle, was always an attribute of sovereignty. Formerly, it is true, it was worn by dukes also, and by princes who did not reign; but under certain circumstances

they represented sovereigns, and it was a kind of fiction by which recollections of the past were perpetuated. At the present day, I know of no recollections to be perpetuated, and no fictions to be kept up. There is now but one Head of the State, one First Magistrate, and he alone should display the distinguishing signs of sovereignty. For my own part, I look with pleasure on the alteration. My mantle must have been borne by some of my grand officers, and I should have been greatly averse to receiving that kind of service from them. I cannot forget that, until quite lately, these same persons were my equals, and my friends."

Several parts of this reply seemed to displease the Emperor; he was especially offended by the word *Magistrate*; he even interrupted his brother, with the words, "Why do you not say *Sovereign*?"

Prince Joseph's opinion, in which he was supported by the Arch-treasurer, who declared himself in favour of anything which would tend to curtail the ceremony, was agreed to without difficulty. But a violent altercation arose on a proposition made by Prince Joseph, as a natural consequence of the principle that had just been laid down. "Since it is admitted," said he, "that with the exception of the Head of the State, no other person, of whatsoever rank, can be held to participate in the honours of sovereignty, and that we ourselves in particular are no longer

treated as princes, but only as great dignitaries; it would not be just that our wives, who henceforward are only the wives of great dignitaries, should carry the train of the Empress's court mantle, as if they were princesses.* It must now be borne by her ladies of honour, or the ladies of the palace."

The Emperor listened impatiently, and the Councillors present hastened to refute Prince Joseph's argument, and to quote several examples, especially that of Marie de Medicis.

Prince Joseph, who was prepared for this objection, displayed an unexpected knowledge of the subject. He proved that Marie was only *accompanied* by Queen Marguerite, and by Madame, the sister of Henri IV., but that the train of her mantle was carried by a distant kinswoman; that Queen Marguerite had certainly displayed noble generosity by being present at the coronation of one who had taken her place, and who, more fortunate than herself, had given heirs to the king; but that although she was the highest in rank among the company, still neither she nor even Madame, had been required to bear the train of Marie de Medicis, who nevertheless had a right to every possible honour; for, being a mother, she possessed the strongest title by which

* This was one of the provisions of the ceremonial as previously arranged.

queens can claim such honours, and the people grant them.

Nothing on earth was more calculated to incense the Emperor than such words; they wounded him to the quick. He lost all control over himself, and, rising abruptly from his seat, he roughly apostrophized his brother, reproaching him with his popular opinions, and the friends who encouraged them, with equal vehemence and bitterness. His anger, in fact, rose so high that the Prince was several times on the point of offering his resignation. But he restrained himself, and the sitting closed without any definite result.

After the Council was over, the Emperor withdrew to his private room, with his two brothers, and the Grand Dignitaries, Cambacérès and Lebrun. There he resumed the conversation with the same heat; and the quarrel became more and more violent. Prince Joseph thought it his duty to do now what he had prudently abstained from doing at the Council, he offered to send in his resignation to his brother, and to retire into Germany. This proposition calmed the Emperor's agitation; he cooled a little, and the brothers parted coldly, indeed, but more peaceably. Six days after this angry scene, the Emperor, without having again seen his brother, set out for Fontainebleau to receive the Pope, who arrived there on the 3rd Frimaire (Nov. 22). But

he summoned Prince Joseph to Fontainebleau, and entered into an explanation with him, of which I will now set down the principal points as I wrote them out on the day (the 8th Frimaire) that they were communicated to me by the Prince. He repeated the Emperor's own words.

"I have reflected deeply," he said to his brother, "on the differences that have arisen between you and me, and I will begin by owning that for the last six days they have deprived me of one moment's rest. I have been unable to sleep, and only you can influence me to such an extent. I know of nothing else that could so disturb me. It is because of my old affection for you, because I remember yours for me from my childhood; and I am much more influenced by this kind of feeling than you think. I am attached to you also because of my belief in the excellence of your character, and of your heart. I know that you are incapable of a crime, and that whatever the benefits to be conferred on you by my death, you would never purchase them by an attempt on my life.

"I am now going to lay before you the result of my reflections on our respective positions. Three courses are open to you; that of sending in your resignation, withdrawing *bonâ fide* from public affairs and renouncing everything; that of continuing to enjoy princely rank, and yet of remaining as hitherto

in opposition to my policy ; and lastly that of frankly joining me and being, to speak plainly, my first subject.

“The first course is practicable, and although it does not altogether fall in with my views, yet I can contrive to make it suit me. Send me in your resignation quietly, without scandal, on the pretext of ill-health ; retire to Morfontaine ; act the invalid during the winter ; nurse your rheumatism. I will grant you a million ; two, if necessary ; you will buy an estate in Italy, near Turin ; in the spring you will travel in Germany or in Russia. You have nothing to fear from me. I am not a family tyrant. I shall never commit a crime, since I have not committed one, by separating from my wife, by accomplishing a divorce which I felt to be necessary and had resolved on in my mind, until I took that journey through Normandy and Belgium which gave me an opportunity of learning all the meanness of the French and convinced me that, without going so far as that, I could obtain whatever I chose from their servility.

“As for me, I would, after your renunciation, have the son of Louis declared heir, by a *Senatus-Consultum*, but he should not succeed me before he had attained the age of eighteen, and I would appoint a Regency, of which Louis should be the head, Cambacérès and Lebrun the members.

“I repeat, however, that although I can make these arrangements, they do not quite please me. I am not ignorant that when you are gone, I shall be entirely in the hands of my wife and her family ; that there will be no curb on the latter, and that Louis’s character, being too weak for opposition, I shall be exposed to the chance of having done such great deeds, endured such great labour, taken so much pains, only perhaps to call to the throne a man of another name than mine. But, at any rate, this course would be a complete one, and that which is complete is always good. You do not care for power, you renounce it. I do not blame you ; no one can know better than I, how heavy is the burden of it. But from the moment in which you withdraw from public affairs, the nation, or at least, that part of the nation which approved your politics, has no hope in you. I no longer fear to see you at the head of a party, because you no longer belong in any way to the system of Government ; I dread you no more, and I continue my advance, though less easily, towards the goal which I desire to reach.

“The second course, that which you have hitherto followed, is on the contrary, no longer endurable.

“If you refuse to come to the consecration, and there to discharge the functions assigned to you as Grand Elector and Prince, and nevertheless you persist in retaining those titles, with their prerogatives, you

are thenceforth my enemy. And what are your means of attack? Where is the army you can bring against me? Who will help you to dispute the Empire with me? You possess nothing, and I shall crush you. For, after all, you will have to appear at the Tuileries; on seeing you I will call out 'Good day, Prince Egalité!' and that word will kill you. I will cast you back among the crowd of courtiers; I will converse with the other dignitaries and I will not speak to you. You could not stand this even for a couple of years; you will take some passionate step, which will place you at my mercy, and your ruin will be complete. I foretold you this same thing concerning Moreau, and so it happened. Besides, I am determined to dispel, from the beginning, the smallest cloud that appears on the horizon. You know how at the slightest sign of opposition I struck down Chenier and Carnot. I know the risk of innovators, and I will have none of them. I speak frankly, because you are clever enough to understand me, and have too much principle to attempt a crime, which on the hypothesis we are now discussing, is the only risk I could incur from you.

"The third course is the simplest, the most proper, and the one on which you should decide; take your place in an hereditary monarchy, and be my first subject! It is rather a fine part to play, that

of the second man in France, perhaps in Europe. Everything becomes justified by the importance of its results, and you do not yet fully estimate those results. I am called to change the face of the world, at least so I believe; something of fatalism, perhaps, tinges this idea, but I do not reject fatalism. I believe in it, and that confidence gives me the means of success. Keep your place, therefore, in a system of hereditary monarchy, which promises you so many advantages. Look upon yourself as necessarily my heir, and whatever you do for me is thereby authorised in your own future. This system, as you know, was not mine, I preferred the Imperial-Electoral system. In that, I should have been free; there would have been no heir apparent attaching a party to himself, there would have been no hopes or fears independent of me; I should have been master both of the present and of the future, since that future must depend on a choice that it was mine to make. However, things are as they are, and we will keep them so; the advantages are sufficient to make me accept the situation. But the line you have adopted, your opposition, have made me take several steps not usual in an hereditary monarchy, many that I should not otherwise have taken. But for you I should not have decided on the consecration and coronation of the Empress. But, mark you, you must take your rightful position under a Monarchy; do my will,

follow the same path as I: do not flatter the Patriots while I repulse them; do not snub the nobles while I am inviting their approach—establish your household on the plan of mine; invite ladies of the old nobility to attend on your wife, not women of the middle classes or wet-nurses;* be a prince, in short, and don't be scared at the consequences of that title. When you succeed to the throne, you can return, if you choose, to your favourite ideas. I shall be no more.

“On these conditions we shall get on well together, and I don't mind owning to you that the third course is the one I should wish you to adopt, though, I can, if need be, put up with the first; but I shall not allow you to follow the second. You have now heard me.”

This explanation induced Joseph to conform to the views of the Emperor, as regarded the coronation, and although he did not adopt the third course as heartily as might have been wished, yet he proved more tractable than he had yet been. On the occasion of the coronation, which took place soon after, he accepted and discharged the functions assigned to him by the ceremonial. The Princess, his wife, conformed cheerfully to them also, only in the official

* The latter expression referred to one of Princess Julia's ladies, to whom she was specially attached, and who was excessively stout. By his allusion to women of the middle class he meant my wife.

report, in order to spare their feelings the words *to support the mantle*,* were used, instead of *to bear the train*.† To such straws will vanity cling for its rescue from mortification.

On the 10th Frimaire (December 1), the Council of State was summoned to the Tuileries, to be present at the reception of the Senate, who were bringing in State the list of votes for the Heredity of the Imperial dignity in the Bonaparte family. The reception took place in one of the salons in which a long platform surrounded with a gilt balustrade had been erected. On this was placed a magnificent throne, surmounted by a purple canopy embroidered with golden bees. The whole thing was very handsome, but not in the best taste, and too large in proportion to the size and shape of the room. The eyes of all were turned on this novel construction; the Emperor alone seemed quite at his ease. The Senate having been introduced, François de Neufchâteau, the Vice-President, made a speech, or rather a long dissertation that lasted nearly three quarters of an hour. The Emperor's reply was short, but remarkable, because in speaking of the nation he used the words "my People." This was the first time he employed that expression. I observed great surprise on the faces round me, when these words were pronounced, but every one was silent.

* *Soutenir le manteau.*

† *Porter la queue.*

After this last proceeding on the part of the Senate, there could be no further delay. Everything was sanctioned by the National will so solemnly expressed. The coronation was fixed for the ensuing day; the order of it was prescribed in an exact programme, the production of M. de Ségur. In the first draft of this important composition, at Article 46, Title IV., were these words: "Their Majesties will receive Holy Communion;" but in the copies sent officially to the various authorities, they were altered by hand, to "If their Majesties receive Holy Communion." And in the copy of the Programme published by the 'Moniteur' of the 9th Frimaire the whole phrase is suppressed and there is no allusion to Communion. It was asserted at the time that the impossibility of ascertaining the condition of the consecrated bread and wine that would have been given to the Emperor was the reason of this alteration, and that it was thought imprudent to trust the Italian Prelates in such a matter.

The day that had been prepared for by so many schemes dawned at length, and on Sunday, the 11th Frimaire, Year XIII. (Dec. 2, 1804), leap-year, the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Joséphine were solemnly crowned and consecrated at the Metropolitan Church of Notre Dame de Paris, by Pope Pius VII. I was present at the ceremony;

but I will only narrate here the particular circumstances that came under my own observation, the writings and newspapers of the time having given a sufficient description of every detail.

On the whole the affair went off well. The procession was magnificent and good order prevailed. During its progress through Paris some cheering was heard, but it was neither frequent nor enthusiastic. The people, however, seemed to be in good spirits; the cross-bearer, who preceded the carriage of the Holy Father, mounted on a mule, especially excited the hilarity of the lookers on. The windows were hung with garlands and tapestries, and, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, were filled with spectators.

The scene in the cathedral was imposing. The Emperor, at the moment of his entry, was extremely grave and composed; but during the course of the ceremony, on hearing the applause that burst forth several times, he unbent, and let it be seen that he was gratified by the flattering homage: he bowed right and left to the various authorities.

The Empress bore herself with modest dignity and exquisite grace. She seemed made for the part she was performing.

The Pope received some applause along the route, and must have been satisfied with his reception. His presence, however, did not awake the religious

admiration displayed by the multitude in former times towards the Roman Pontiffs. The respect paid him was addressed rather to the white hair of the venerable old man than to the tiara on his brow.

There were beautiful illuminations at night. The people thronged the streets, and amused themselves as they always do, no matter what may be the occasion on which they are treated to shows and illuminations, or whom the individual honoured.

To this opening day succeeded a fortnight of fêtes, receptions, and State audiences, either at the Tuileries or at the Hotel de Ville. The Emperor seemed to take pleasure in this display. He had issued commands to all the authorities not to appear at Court during this period, except in the state-costumes worn on the Coronation Day. No accident or vexatious circumstances interfered with this long series of festivities. A singular incident disturbed for a short time the fête of the 14th Frimaire (Dec. 5), when eagles were distributed to the various detachments of the army who had come to Paris in order to receive them. From twenty-five to thirty thousand of the finest French troops were assembled for this solemn ceremony on the Champ de Mars, and the Emperor, surrounded by his court and the great bodies of the State, was seated on a throne, placed on a semicircular platform

in front of the Military School. In the middle of the ceremony, a young man advanced towards the steps of the throne, and exclaimed in a loud voice: *No Emperor! Liberty or death!* He was immediately arrested, and I never heard his name. The circumstance, however, made little impression, very few persons heard his exclamation; for the crowd had been dispersed by the bad weather. There was a banquet at the Tuileries on the same evening. Several tables were spread in the Gallery of Diana. The Emperor, the Empress, the Imperial Family and the Pope dined together at one of them. The Diplomatic Body, the ladies, the Grand Officers and the principal Public Officials dined at separate tables. Much dissatisfaction was caused by this etiquette, especially among the Foreign Ambassadors, who felt aggrieved at not being admitted to the Princes' table. The ambassadors of Austria (Cobentzel), of Spain (Gravina), of Portugal (de Lima), and of Holland (Schimmelpenninck) absented themselves from the banquet. Notwithstanding these slight vexations, the Emperor was, on the whole, satisfied with the quiet that had prevailed in Paris, and with this new trial of the people's docility, which had turned out better than he had expected. "I remarked indeed," he said to his brother Joseph, on the 19th Frimaire, "that there was no real enthusiasm anywhere, but neither were the fêtes disturbed

in any way. For me, it is a battle won, and I have gained by good management more than I could have hoped for." Everything had been equally tranquil in the Departments; and this tranquillity will not appear one of the least wonderful signs of the times, if we remember that, during the festivities, which lasted over a month, all the Generals in command of Divisions, all the Prefects, all the Magistrates, and the flower of the army were in Paris, and that their absence in no way affected the ordinary progress of affairs, nor occasioned the slightest disorder.

In order to take full possession of all the attributes of sovereignty, the Emperor had now only to exhibit them at the opening of a legislative session, in presence of the two bodies, who by a kind of fiction were still considered as the representatives of the nation. This took place on the 5th Nivôse (Dec. 27). The Emperor repaired in State to the palace occupied by the Legislative Body, where the Tribune and the Council of State had been convened. A deputation from the Senate was present. After receiving the oaths of the Members of the Legislature, the Emperor read from the throne a speech which was published in the 'Moniteur' of the 7th Nivôse, Year XIII. That characteristic expression of sovereignty, the words *My people*, is repeated.

But, on the whole, the speech afforded satisfaction,

because it contained an assurance that during that year no further sacrifices would be required of the nation. The Emperor read it in a firm voice, though rather hurriedly, and, as it was the first time he spoke in public, his faults of pronunciation, some very serious, were much noticed ; such for example as the addition of the letter *t* to the third person singular in the future tense, and of an *s* to the first person.* This fault was especially perceptible in the last sentence of the speech.

Five days after this sitting, Champagny, Minister of the Interior, accompanied by Lacuée and Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, Councillors of State, conveyed to the Legislative Body, at its sitting of the 10th Nivôse (Dec. 31), the *Statement of the situation of the Empire*.† After receiving this communication, the Legislative Body, sitting in Private Committee, unanimously adopted the address drawn up by President Fontanes, in reply to the speech from the Throne. The Tribune, in like manner, had in a private sitting on the 8th Nivôse, approved an address on the same subject, drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose.

The two addresses were presented at the Tuileries by the whole of the members of both bodies. They

* As, for instance, *je serai-s*, and *il sera-t*.

† Such are the terms employed in the Imperial Decree appointing the orators who were to make the communication. The word *republic* had disappeared.

were received by the Emperor on the throne, in presence of the Grand Dignitaries and Great Officers of the Empire, the Senate, and the Council of State, extraordinarily convoked. Fontanes was speaker, and the address which he read aloud began with these words; “SIRE, YOUR FAITHFUL SUBJECTS, *the members of the Legislative Body,*” etc. At this unexpected exordium, the greatest astonishment was expressed on every countenance, even on those of the Members of the Legislative Body, who seemed no less surprised than the other persons present.

The Tribune, in a body, were next introduced, and Fabre (de l’Aude), the President, read their address; but Fontanes’ formula was not adopted. The Emperor, who had replied very graciously to the address of the Legislative Body, seemed displeased at that presented by the Tribune. He answered with coldness and constraint. The two bodies withdrew, and the sitting ended rather abruptly. On the following day, the 13th Nivôse, every one was taken by surprise at seeing the two addresses appear in the ‘Moniteur,’ each with the same formula, “*Your faithful Subjects;*” although it was notorious to all connected with the highest authorities of France that they had been differently expressed. It was impossible to lie with greater audacity.

The following is the explanation. Fontanes had carefully avoided letting the Legislative Body know

the formula which he intended to employ, so as to avoid a discussion, which, even had he succeeded in carrying his point, would have been unpleasant and embarrassing. The Legislative Body was therefore not aware that those words were about to be used; and, on their return from the audience, loaded their faithless President with reproaches, a great number of the members complaining bitterly of the thing in itself as well as of the surreptitious way in which it had been done. Fontanes, finding himself in an awkward predicament, waited on the Emperor in the evening, and pointed out to him that he was in an extremely difficult position with the body over which he presided, now that it was known that the expressions he had used did not occur in the address from the Tribunate, that he would now be still more heavily condemned, and considered guilty of a breach of confidence. The Emperor, who had already felt that the difference between the two branches of the Legislature was inimical to his views, settled the question with a single word. Maret was ordered to send for Fabre (de l'Aude), and to signify to him the Emperor's will that the terms made use of by Fontanes should also appear in the address from the Tribunate which would be published on the following day. Fabre, who was daily expecting his nomination to the Senate, made no objection, and when they awoke the next morning

the Tribunes learned through the columns of the 'Moniteur' that on the preceding day they had declared themselves the "*faithful Subjects of the Emperor.*" The Tribune, whose existence became more and more precarious, and whose members had nothing to hope for in the ruin with which they were threatened, save the favour of the Emperor, endured the affront in silence. But the Legislative Body showed some displeasure, and endeavoured to preserve its honour by inserting in the report of its sittings, which contains the address, an explanatory note stating that the phraseology employed was that made use of by the House of Commons. But the note did not specify to what nation that House of Commons belonged, nor by what right it ruled the action of the representative assembly of the French nation. The Emperor laughed at the sop administered to itself by the Legislative Body; and he was right. He had obtained from it all he wanted. Where force or skilfully managed circumstance had failed, clever trickery had succeeded. He possessed his people, his subjects, his armies, his ships; every vestige of Republican Government had disappeared both in matter and form. The counter-revolution was complete; he had restored absolute monarchy with all its accessories. All this was not destined to be of long endurance.

CHAPTER IV.

The Emperor again offers the crown of Lombardy to Prince Joseph, who refuses it—He wishes to bestow it on the son of Prince Louis, but the latter also declines Napoleon's proposal—In consequence of this refusal, the Emperor destines Eugene Beauharnais to the throne of Italy, and raises him, as well as General Murat, to princely rank—Hostile attitude of the Northern Powers—The Emperor explains at the Council of State the real object of the preparations for a descent on England—He addresses a letter on behalf of peace to the King of England, but without effect—Napoleon contrives that a deputation from the Italian Republic, converted into a Monarchy, shall offer him the crown of Italy, which he accepts—The Pope leaves Paris to return to Rome—The Emperor, after a reconciliation with his brother Joseph, proceeds to Milan, to be crowned King of Italy, and appoints Prince Eugene his viceroy—Joseph returns to the Boulogne camp—The author proceeds to Belgium on a special mission from the Government—Prosperity and good dispositions of the inhabitants—Public works for the establishment of a military port at Antwerp—Annexation of the Ligurian Republic to France—Return of the Emperor from Milan—The continuance of peace on the Continent becomes more and more doubtful—The combined squadrons of France and Spain are obliged, after a disastrous engagement, to take refuge at Corunna—The Emperor hastens the preparations for the embarkation of the troops at Boulogne—The Viennese Cabinet despatches its armies to Bavaria, and sends an

ultimatum to Paris—War is decided on, and the troops assembled at Boulogne are ordered to the Rhine—Restoration of the Greek Calendar—The Emperor's allocution at the State Council—Provisions for regulating the powers of the Government during the Emperor's absence—After having presided at a State Sitting of the Senate, Napoleon sets out to join the army.

THE coronation fêtes and the solemn opening of the Legislative Body were scarcely over, when the Emperor, still bent on his former plans, again brought forward the offer of the crown of Lombardy to Prince Joseph. His principal motive for insisting on this was his desire to remove from the Imperial succession the brother who had been called to it by the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 28th Floréal, and thus to concentrate the succession in the family of Prince Louis, and consequently in the person of the son of the latter. This plan he had formed long before, and he renounced it only on the death of the child.

The first approach to the subject had been, as the reader is aware, coldly received by Prince Joseph. The act of renunciation to the right of succession, on which the Emperor insisted, was the condition most repugnant to the Prince, and he refused to consent to it. At length, after a discussion of considerable length, M. de Talleyrand, who had undertaken the negotiation, drew up the bases of the agreement, as a kind of ultimatum, in a series of articles, as follows :

1. Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is King of Lombardy.

2. He makes over his rights to the crown in their fullest extent to his brother Joseph as a French Prince and Grand Elector of the Empire.

3. The crown of Lombardy is hereditary among the legitimate descendants of Joseph Bonaparte.

4. If Prince Joseph should die without male children the throne of Lombardy is again at the disposal of the Emperor.

5. Should the Prince's death occur after that of the Emperor, and that one of the latter's sons or adopted sons should be on the throne of France, the crown of Lombardy reverts to Prince Louis.

6. If, during the lifetime of the Emperor, Prince Joseph dies, leaving a son, still a minor, the Emperor is President of the Council of Regency, which consists of the Great Dignitaries of Lombardy.

7. The crowns of Lombardy and of France can in no case be united on one head. Consequently Prince Joseph renounces for himself and for his children all right of succession to the Imperial Throne.

8. The Emperor, however, in order not to deprive himself of the advantages conferred on him by the Senatus-Consultum of the 23rd Floréal, Year XII. reserves to himself the power of adoption thereby secured to him. But it is understood that the succession to the throne of France will only pass to the

second branch of the family, to which it would naturally revert through the renunciation of Prince Joseph, in virtue of a special designation. Thus, should the Emperor die, leaving neither son nor adopted son, and without having made any special designation, he will be considered to have called Prince Joseph to succeed to the crown of France, in preference to Prince Louis, who will then assume the crown of Lombardy.

This last Article, although it appeared to modify the effect of the renunciation required of him, especially attracted the attention of Prince Joseph. In fact, it contrived a new system of succession to the throne of France. The word *designation* implied a total change in the order established by the original Senatus-Consultum, and it did away with the hereditary principle in the usual acceptation of the word. According to that principle, Prince Louis succeeded immediately to the rights of Prince Joseph, on their renunciation by the latter. Here, on the contrary, Louis's rights were made contingent only, and depended on the will of the Emperor, who reserved to himself the choice of designating or not designating him. And what was still more extraordinary, this power of designation introduced into the legislation was unlimited, and there was nothing to prevent the Emperor exercising it in

favour of an individual belonging to another family. Lastly, this provision appeared to confer the succession on the family of the designated successor; so that if Prince Louis were designated, it would have the same effect as the adoption of his children, although minors, since on his death his rights would descend to them to the exclusion of Prince Joseph.

Talleyrand, who had communicated the Articles of the Agreement to Joseph on the morning of the 26th Nivôse, Year XIII. (Jan. 16, 1805), returned on the evening of the same day to receive his answer. It was evasive, and the Prince deferred a positive reply to a later day. He employed the interval in consulting his friends, all of whom advised him to accept them. "In the natural course," we said to him, "the Emperor would survive you. You have no male heir, and your brother having none either, nor the possibility of any, by the Empress, you may be sure that sooner or later he will put her away in order to obtain a direct heir, or at least that he will make use of the power conferred on him by the *Senatus-Consultum* to adopt the son of Prince Louis. Your right to the throne of France, and your hope of ascending it at a future day are, therefore, imaginary rather than real; and one contingency, that of the premature death of the Emperor, which could alone give them some consistency, is too

unlikely an event to be allowed to outweigh the advantages which are now offered to you. By accepting them, you reign over a beautiful country, whose language you speak, and where you would have many opportunities of doing good. Your destiny would thus be fixed, and a brilliant and stable future would open before you."

These counsels made no impression on Prince Joseph. He regarded the renunciation required of him as a kind of cowardice; and therefore flatly refused his consent, being resolved to remain in France. His decision was communicated to the Emperor on the 7th Pluviose (Jan. 27). He was greatly displeased, and thought of bestowing the crown of Lombardy on the eldest son of Prince Louis, entrusting the government of the country to the latter during his son's minority, who meanwhile would continue to reside in Paris. But the Prince, on hearing the proposition, altogether rejected it. "So long as I live," said he to the Emperor, "I will neither consent to the adoption of my son, before he has attained the age fixed by the *Senatus-Consultum*, nor to any plan for placing him, to my prejudice, on the throne of Lombardy. So marked a preference would revive the rumours formerly circulated concerning the child. I am willing, if you desire it, to go to Italy, but on condition that my wife and children accompany me thither."

This fresh refusal, and the tone in which it was made and persisted in, enraged the Emperor to the highest degree. He seized Prince Louis by the body, and flung him violently out of the room.

Thus thwarted by his own family on the two sides, the Emperor began to turn his thoughts and affections towards young Beauharnais. He raised him to the rank of Prince, and intended to place him on the throne of Lombardy, and to unite him in marriage with the Queen of Etruria, recently left a widow by the Infante of Spain, who, two years previously, had been placed on the throne of Tuscany.* He conferred, in like manner, the title of Prince on General Murat, and bestowed the vacant Grand Dignities of Arch-chancellor of State on Prince Eugene and that of Grand Admiral on Prince Murat. The honours conferred on the new-made Princes were resented by the Emperor's two brothers as personal injuries ; but they had no right to complain ; all this was a natural consequence of their refusal to co-operate in Napoleon's designs. Thus grievances were multiplied on either side ; family disunion increased, and the extraordinary favours of fortune had neither satisfied personal ambition nor brought peace and concord. From the very beginning there had been unexpected opposition,

* This plan was altered in part, Prince Eugene was made viceroy only, and married a Bavarian princess.

and unexpected claims, and germs of enmity were now expanding in the very hearts that Napoleon believed he had won to himself by splendid gifts, well deserving of gratitude in return.

While family troubles were casting these gloomy shadows on the success that had hitherto attended on all the Emperor's undertakings, the state of foreign affairs was daily assuming an aspect more threatening to the continuance of peace on the Continent. Austria, Russia, and even Prussia, were becoming more and more inimical. But, far from being alarmed, the Emperor, as I have already said, ardently desired a rupture; for it would again assign to him that stage whereon victory had so gloriously distinguished the French troops under his command, and it would also afford him a legitimate excuse for giving up the hazardous expedition to England, the difficulties of which seemed to increase as the time for putting it into execution drew near. He explained the situation with considerable clearness at a sitting of the State Council in which the Finance laws were being discussed, and over which he presided on the 28th Nivôse (Jan. 17). Speaking on the subject of the resources of France, he expressed himself as follows. "For two years past, France has made the greatest sacrifices that can be demanded of her, and has not flinched under the trial. A general Continental war would involve nothing

further. My army is the strongest, and my military organisation is the most complete. Moreover, I am already in the very situation in which I should have to place myself if war were to break out on the Continent. But in order, during a time of peace, to assemble so many troops, in order to have twenty thousand artillery horses, and a complete equipment, a pretext had to be found for raising them and bringing them together without alarming the Continental powers; and that pretext was afforded me by the intended descent on England. I am quite aware that to keep all those artillery horses during a time of peace is to throw thirty millions into the sea; but it has given me full twenty days in advance over all my enemies, and I shall have begun the campaign a month before Austria has bought horses for her guns. If I see that the events taking place in Italy* cause any movement in Austria, I shall declare war on her so soon as she begins her purchases.

“I could not have told you this two years ago, and yet it was my sole aim. You know it now, and you have the explanation of many things. But there will be no war, and I have just begun direct negotiations with the King of England in the interests of peace.”

* He alludes to the intended formation of the kingdom of Lombardy.

Whether the Emperor had in reality prepared for an expedition against England with the sole design of concealing his military preparations from the Continental powers, or whether he had given it up on perceiving the extreme difficulty of the undertaking, the fact remains that for a long time past all his measures for a war on land had been taken. Those powers who attacked him shortly afterwards, far from finding him at fault, by reason of his armies being massed on the channel coasts, were, on the contrary, themselves taken by surprise, by the skilful tactics the secret of which he partly revealed to us at the sitting of the Council of State to which I now refer.

But the more he desired war the more it was his interest to persuade the world that he wished for peace, and his motive in making overtures to the King of England, to whom he had written personally,* was to prove that if he found himself involved in a new war he had done all in his power to avoid it. So soon, therefore, as England's reply rejecting this overture,† reached Paris, the Emperor hastened to communicate both documents to the Senate, the Legislative Body and the Tribune. Those bodies

* The letter in question, dated 12th Nivôse (Jan. 2), appeared in the 'Moniteur' of 16th Pluvôse, Year XIII.

† The King of England did not reply directly, but he commanded Lord Mulgrave to write to M. de Talleyrand. The letter is dated January 1, 1805.

immediately replied by obsequious addresses, which had been preceded by speeches no less servile at the sitting of the Tribune. The addresses were presented to the Emperor on the 21st Pluviôse. He received them seated on his throne, and surrounded by the great officers of the Empire and of the Household, by the Senate and the Council of State. The President of the Tribune, Fabre (de l'Aude) had no hesitation this time in speaking in the name of *the faithful subjects, Members of the Tribune*, and even put the epithet in the superlative, the *most faithful subjects*. On this occasion the speeches were inserted without alteration in the 'Moniteur' on the following day. A change was, however, made in the Emperor's reply to the deputation from the Legislative Body. He had made use of the expression, *the philanthropic and liberal ideas*, which, according to him, should be characteristic of the present century. But as he was in the habit of sneering at men of *liberal ideas*, he did not want to appear to have contradicted himself, and in the 'Moniteur,' next day, instead of *philanthropic and liberal ideas*, he was made to say philanthropic and *generous ideas*.

Notwithstanding the clouds daily gathering on the political horizon, war was not so imminent as to prevent the Emperor from carrying out his plans in Italy. One grievance less inflicted upon Austria and the other Continental Powers would not have pre-

vented war, and so he felt no scruple in doing them a fresh wrong. Moreover, he did not shrink from multiplying pretexts for a rupture which had now become necessary to him, and he reckoned on victory to absolve him from all his misdeeds and to justify all his ambition. His brothers' refusal having left him free to dispose as he would of Lombardy and his other conquests in Italy, he finally resolved to place the crown he had offered them on his own head. But he wished that crown to be offered to him by the nation. He therefore summoned to Paris a deputation chosen from among the principal citizens of Lombardy, which, under the name of Consultum, was supposed to be empowered to revise the constitution of the Italian Republic, but whose principal business was in reality to change that form of Government, and institute for it a monarchy. When this assembly had concluded their labours, they laid the result before the Emperor at a State-Audience on 26th Ventôse (March 17). The Council of State was present. All the ceremonial of State was displayed. The Emperor, who seemed to delight in providing opportunities for the display of his sovereign attributes, was seated on the throne, with covered head, when the Consultum was introduced. M. de Melzi was the Speaker, and submitted to the Emperor the deliberations of the assembly over which he presided. The following were the resolutions. The Italian

Republic to be changed into a Monarchy, under the name of Kingdom of Italy;* the Emperor and his heirs male to be called to the throne, with the single restriction that for the future the two crowns of France and Italy should never be united on one head. The sole exception was in the case of the Emperor, and for this occasion only.

The Emperor accepted the offer, spoke of his affection for his people of Italy, and promised to go to Milan for his coronation. On the following day he went to the Senate to announce in person his new dignity, and thenceforth he assumed the title of *Emperor and King*.

But, before he could set out for Italy, it was necessary to send the Pope back to Rome. The Holy Father was prolonging his stay in France, in hopes of obtaining the advantages that had been held out to him as the price of his compliance. He asked that the legations of Ferrara, Bologna and Rimini should be restored to the Holy See, that the custody of the Civil State Registers should again be confided to the clergy, and lastly, that the Republican Calendar should be suppressed, and the Gregorian Calendar restored. The Emperor agreed to the last of these requests only, and because it suited his purpose, quite as much as the Pope's, to abolish everything that could

* The title of King of Lombardy, against which Austria had protested, was thus avoided.

recall the Republican régime. However, the Holy Father departed before this change was effected, and it was not carried out until a few months later.

Pius VII., disappointed in his hopes and expecting nothing from a more prolonged stay, determined to return to Rome. He went to see the Emperor at St. Cloud for the last time on the 9th Germinal (10 March). The Council of State had assembled before he arrived. He crossed the hall, entered the Emperor's cabinet, remained with him for ten minutes, and then came out again with displeasure visible in his countenance. A few days afterwards (14 Germinal) he left Paris. It was said that an effort had been made to induce him to pause at Milan, and be present at the ceremony of the coronation of Napoleon as King of Italy ; but he refused this fresh condescension, and it was not insisted on.

The Emperor, being free from all anxiety with respect to the interior of France, left Paris on the 31st of March (10 Germinal) on his way to Italy, after having asked and obtained a *Senatus-Consultum* for a levy of twenty thousand men on the reserves. The task of carrying this out devolved on Cambacérès. Prince Joseph accompanied the Emperor to Fontainebleau, and before they parted a sort of reconciliation took place between the two brothers. They had a long conversation, in the course of which the Emperor complained, as usual, of the

small share which the Prince took in affairs, and of his constant opposition to the policy which had been adopted. Nevertheless, he did him justice on some points, and treated him with kindness. He directed him to return to his regiment at the Boulogne camp, to continue to learn the duties of a colonel; so that, having studied them for a month, he might make a circuit on the Northern and Rhenish frontiers, accompanied by officers of the Engineers and of Artillery, in order to inspect our principal fortresses and thus to acquire the military knowledge in which he was deficient. They parted on tolerably good terms. Prince Joseph returned to Paris, and, after a few days' stay at Morfontaine, proceeded to Boulogne, from which place he afterwards started on an excursion to the frontier, in compliance with a suggestion that had been made to him.

The Emperor continued his journey to Milan, where he received the crown, and made the Empress's son, Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, under the name of Prince Eugene Napoleon.

During the absence of the Emperor and of Prince Joseph, I was entrusted by the Government with a special mission to Belgium, which formed part of the General Police district under my administration. I left Paris therefore on the 20th Floréal (May 19), and proceeded to Antwerp, where I made a stay of several days. M. d'Herbonville was discharging

the duties of Prefect in that town, and I took counsel with him as to the means of putting a stop to smuggling, which had greatly increased on the borders of the departments which were contiguous to Holland. But my mission was not a successful one: the Custom-house officers made too great a profit on the sale of the confiscated goods, and by the gratuities that they obtained on each seizure, to be really desirous of putting an end to smuggling, by which they would have been reduced to living on their salaries only. Moreover, as the confiscated goods were re-purchased by the very persons from whom they had been taken, these latter had only to set the chances of success against those of failure in getting their goods, and then to calculate their expenditure in repurchasing, which could always be effected at a cost far below the real value, and lastly to fix the sum to which the price of the smuggled goods was to be raised, in order to sell them in the interior at a profit. As, notwithstanding this augmentation in cost, smuggled merchandise always commanded a good sale, there remained sufficient profit to attract many speculators to this lucrative business. My journey was, therefore, a failure as regards the ends for which I had undertaken it; but it was very useful to myself, as it afforded me an opportunity of closely examining the state of those fine provinces since the union with France. I found them

quite settled, and their industrious inhabitants well disposed in favour of the Government, to which they daily became more attached. They were obedient by habit, and felt no regret for their former masters, whom they had never seen, and to procure whose return they would not have made the smallest sacrifice. They endured taxation willingly, and the excise duties, the heaviest of all, had easily been enforced in a country long accustomed to defray the heaviest part of the public expenses by indirect taxation. The conscription was the only serious grievance, because it clashed with former habits and with national prejudice. As the Austrian Government had never recruited, save among the dregs of the people, a soldier was an object of contempt in Belgium, and among no class of society could any be found willing to enter a profession so degraded in public estimation. The wealthy and influential inhabitants of these fine provinces were, however, daily returning to them. They were beginning to have faith in the stability of the new order of things, and having, through the help of the Government, recovered their property and their wealth, they were sincerely desirous of the continuance of a system under which they might exist in peace. Lastly, the union of Belgium to France having overthrown the barrier of Customs, which until then had interfered with the export of the products of her industry

to France, a new and vast market had been opened to her and a stimulus given to her manufactures such as they never had during the domination of the House of Austria. In addition to these commercial advantages, which contributed so powerfully to the lasting union of the two peoples, the immense works in progress at Antwerp led the Belgians to hope that the former splendour of that port, so famous in the annals of their country, would one day be restored, and revived their recollections of the glory and prosperity associated with its name.

My curiosity being greatly excited, I took advantage of the facilities afforded by my mission to inspect the works in progress for the establishment of a military port at Antwerp. I was accompanied by M. Malouet, the naval Prefect of that ancient city.

On the spot where eighteen months previously there had existed nothing but a block of buildings belonging to an old convent, and a rampart, there were now to be seen docks, partly-built vessels, immense store-houses, workshops for rope-making and carpentering; in short, a naval arsenal. At the time of my visit there were eight men of war, a frigate, and a brig in process of construction.*

* The following is a list of the names that had been given to these vessels; *le Charlemagne*, *le Commerce de Lyon*, *l'Anversois*, *le Thésée*, *l'Illustre*, *le César*, *le Duguesclin* and *l'Audacieux*, vessels of seventy-four; *la Caroline*, frigate of forty-six, and *le Favori*, brig of sixteen guns.

Timber from the forest of Soignés was used for the shipbuilding; but, as it was still green, it was calculated that the hulls of the vessels would have to dry for at least eighteen months before the planking could be laid down, and that consequently it would be impossible to launch them for a couple of years.

But, after admiring all that was striking and extraordinary in the undertaking, and the strength of will of him who had set it in motion, I could not refrain from reflecting on the objections that it presented. In the first place, it seemed to me that to establish a military and a commercial port on the same spot, was to ensure the destruction of the one by the other. Antwerp had always been a great commercial city; and a military marine station, if it had been successfully established there, would have imperceptibly destroyed the true source of the greatness and wealth of the place. Then again, granting that nothing was more likely to alarm the English than French squadrons in the Scheldt, and that policy dictated that great enterprise, still Antwerp did not seem to me the most favourable locality for the purpose. The river is difficult of descent for large ships, and great difficulty was expected in getting the ships then on the stocks down the Scheldt.

Moreover, their guns and part of their rigging must have been shipped either at Flushing, or at a

port that had yet to be made at the mouth of the river. Once down the Scheldt, the vessels could not possibly return to Antwerp, even were they disarmed for the purpose, and in the winter they could not enter the river on account of the ice. So that in a military-naval sense, Antwerp could never be more than a dockyard, and in no case a port for equipment or refitting. I came to the conclusion that it would have been far better to have made the expenditure at Ter Neef, on the left bank of the Scheldt, opposite Flushing, rather than at Antwerp. But it was an appeal to the popular imagination to restore the ancient name of Antwerp and once more to make it formidable.

I left Antwerp on the 9th Prairial (May 29), on my return to Paris, passing through Louvain, Maestricht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Verviers, Liège, Brussels and Ghent. I travelled very slowly, frequently stopping to inspect the manufactories and public establishments; and was more and more pleased with the prosperity that I beheld on every side. The cloth factories of Verviers especially had developed wonderfully: they had never had so much work in hand, nor so many markets in which to dispose of it. Verviers had reaped more advantage than any other town from the union of France with Belguim, and the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine.

I reached Paris on the 20th Prairial (June 9). The

Emperor was still at Milan, where he was receiving the homage of his new Italian subjects. I heard little concerning his journey, as there was no one in his suite to whom I could apply for information. The writings of the time give full particulars of Napoleon's coronation as King of Italy and the organisation of the kingdom. He confided the administration, as I have said before, to Prince Eugene Beauharnais, with the title of Viceroy. For chief adviser, he gave him M. de Melzi, of whom I have already spoken, and on whom, two years later, he conferred the title of Duke of Lodi. It would have been impossible to have made a better choice. During the Emperor's stay in Italy, the union of France and the Ligurian Republic (the town and territory of Genoa) took place. That brilliant annexation added another grievance to the long list of those that the Continental powers cherished against us, and was one of the alleged motives for their rupture with us. In this operation the Emperor was greatly helped by Salicetti, the French Ambassador at Genoa, who had prepared the way beforehand by persuasion and bribery.

Napoleon left Milan on his way back to France, laden with honours, surfeited with flattery, having destroyed an ancient republic, the only one still existing in Italy, and annexed it to his Empire. On the 29th Messidor (July 15) he arrived at Fontainebleau,

where the chief authorities hastened to present themselves with congratulations on his return. I was there with the Council of State, and it seemed to me that his manner was colder than ever. The forms required by etiquette were still more severe than before ; there was a general feeling of constraint and embarrassment, and distinctions of rank were more marked than hitherto. No graciousness, no kindness tempered the austere demeanour of the Emperor, so greatly did he seem to fear that the slightest sign of affability might recall the past days of Equality.

Towards the beginning of Thermidor he at length returned to Paris, where his presence had become necessary. The arrival of a negotiator in the capital was daily expected. M. Novosiltzof had been appointed by the Emperor of Russia to reply to the overtures of peace that Napoleon had addressed to the King of England, and to take part in the negotiations which as the result of those overtures would be likely to be held in Paris. But M. Novosiltzof came no farther than Berlin ; he returned the passports that had been forwarded to him, through the medium of Prussia, and took his way back. The note which he addressed on the 10th of July, 1805, to Prince Hardenberg, at that time the Cabinet Minister at Berlin, explained Russia's reasons for declining to treat with France, and founded them especially upon the annexations the Emperor had

just made in Italy. The French passports were enclosed with this Note. Prince Hardenberg forwarded them on the following day to M. de Laforest, the French Minister at Berlin, accompanied by a Note in which he approved the conduct of Russia, and alluded with displeasure to the union of the Genoese Republic to France as an unexpected event by which the tranquillity of the Continent was once more endangered. Thus every hope of the continuance of peace imperceptibly faded away. Meanwhile, at the very moment that war seemed on the point of breaking out in the north of Europe, the armaments at Boulogne went on with redoubled activity. The combined squadrons of France and Spain* were to arrive in the Channel in order to protect the expedition, and from day to day they were expected to come in sight—in vain. The squadrons were encountered on the 22nd of July by Admiral Calder, who forced them to fight, and to run in at Corunna with the loss of two Spanish ships, the *San-Raphael*, 84 guns, and the *Firme*, 74 guns. The Emperor, who, the better to disguise his real projects, had gone to Boulogne, was there when this news reached him, and, notwithstanding that every endeavour was made to represent the engagement as a drawn battle,

* Spain had been at war with England since 1802, when England had seized on four Spanish frigates without a previous declaration of war.

no one could doubt that the hopes entertained of assistance from the Spanish squadron at the time of the passage of the flotilla were delusive. It was evident that we should have to rely entirely on our own resources at Boulogne if a descent on England were to be attempted. Nevertheless, although it was evident that since all help from the Spanish squadron must be given up, and since we were on the eve of a Continental war, the expedition could not be attempted without utter foolhardiness, the preparations for the embarkation were carried on under the Emperor's eyes, more vigorously than ever. The troops were assigned to the different transports long ready for their reception, and each man received his orders. On the 3rd Fructidor (Aug. 21) the troops marched on board to beat of drum, at the same time it was announced that a fleet of twenty-eight men of war had been signalled in the Channel, and it was supposed that these were the French and Spanish squadrons from Corunna. It was consequently believed for a moment in Paris that the expedition was about to take place, and all the alarm previously felt at that hazardous undertaking was revived, and general consternation ensued. But the mask was soon thrown aside, and it was seen that the Emperor's apparent activity in carrying out a design he had already given up was but a feint to increase the false security of the Continental powers, and to force on them some

decisive step, which would give him an opportunity for action.

He had not to wait long. Austria's military preparations and the advance of her troops into Bavaria dispelled all doubt as to her intentions. Finally a kind of ultimatum was despatched from Vienna, and reached Paris on the 10th Fructidor (Aug. 28).* M. de Talleyrand started immediately for Boulogne, and from that moment the long-wished for war was resolved on. Without an instant's delay, all the troops forming the camp at Boulogne and stationed along the coast were in the field, and advancing by forced marches towards the Rhine. Never was there so rapid or so skilful a change of front: Austria had scarcely received the reply to her ultimatum when she learned that the formidable armies, from whom, by reason of the immense distance between them, she had believed there was nothing to fear, would reach the Rhine before herself.

The Emperor, after having ordered the march of his troops, and staying to see it begun, returned to St. Cloud on the 16th Fructidor (Sept. 5). He held a diplomatic reception on the following Sunday, and

* I did not see the document in question; but I was informed that it contained a special provision that the Italian kingdom should be given up, that the Ligurian Republic should be restored to independence, and that Malta should be ceded to the English. The Emperor was in a position peremptorily to decline these proposals.

as there was, as yet, no declaration of war, the Austrian Ambassador was present. The Emperor talked to him, as usual, but only about pictures or indifferent subjects, without letting anything appear which could give rise to a suspicion of the state of relations between France and Austria.

Meanwhile the greatest activity prevailed in all the Ministerial departments, and sittings of the Councils of State, of Administration and of Finance, followed one on the other. In one of the sittings of the Council of State, the abolition of the Republican Calendar was proposed and carried, notwithstanding the opposition of some members. Among these, Councillor Réal spoke warmly in favour of maintaining that Calendar, and there were certainly good reasons to adduce in support of his argument. I even think, that had the commencement of the year been fixed by the Republican Calendar at the beginning of the Winter Solstice, instead of the Autumn Equinox, there would have been a great advantage in retaining the decennial division of the year, and that with this alteration, it would have been more in accordance with the celestial phenomena than any other calculation. But the question was not how to reform or improve the Republican Calendar; no argument on the point would have been admitted. It must either be retained, just as it was, or entirely abolished; and such being the alternative, the

promise made to the Pope, and the leaning in favour of ancient forms, which was the fashion of the day, left no doubt as to the decision. Abolition was therefore resolved on, and the restoration of the Gregorian Calendar was fixed for January 1, 1806. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was ordered to lay before the Senate a form of *Senatus-Consultum* prescribing the change, and M. Laplace, who as a celebrated geometrician and astronomer had, in the time of the Convention, commended the Republican Calendar, and praised it in many of his works, now that he was a Senator, made his report (still in the capacity of a learned mathematician) on the new Governmental proposition, and was in favour of adopting it. *E sempre bene*, as the Neapolitan lawyers say.

Finally, all the resources of the State having been put in action, and the time of the Emperor's departure drawing near, he summoned the Council of State to St. Cloud, on the 30th Fructidor (Sept. 17), to make known his last commands, and, at this memorable sitting, all the members being present, after dismissing the Auditors and the ushers, he addressed us in the following words :

“The weighty communications which I have to make to my Council of State are my reasons for excluding the younger men and the ushers to-day. I hope I shall not see an account of our proceedings

here in the newspapers to-morrow ; should that be the case, I could in future only treat of the current affairs of the day at the Council ; I could not venture again to speak of the great interests of the State. I rely, therefore, on the discretion of all present.

“ Austria is arming against us without a previous declaration of war. Her troops are marching on Bavaria ; she has taken the German Princes, our allies, unawares. She who owes her existence to my moderation, she whom I have twice driven from Vienna and from all her States, dares, at the present time, to dictate conditions to me : she intends that I shall submit to all those that it may please England to impose on me, and she does not even tell me what they are. Such insolence, such ingratitude and deceit have awakened the resentment of all the Princes of Germany : they are quivering with indignation. I will avenge them, and avenge at the same time my own honour and the honour of France. My armies are marching towards the Rhine. They will soon have crossed it, and, with me at their head, will destroy the odious house of Austria that I ought never to have spared. I will reduce her to the rank of a secondary power. My allies shall see that they were right to trust in me, and that my protection is not a vain thing. I will raise Bavaria into a great state, interposed between Austria and myself,

and I will sign a new peace in the palace of the Emperor of Germany.

“ But I must wait a few days yet ere I go before the Senate to make a declaration to the whole nation of the situation of affairs, of my feelings, and of my intentions. Until then my language will be pacific. Meanwhile, time presses, and as it is my duty to provide for the tranquillity of France while I am marching on, I wished to communicate to you the measures which I intended taking and to consult you upon their adoption. You can, therefore, understand the necessity of secrecy respecting plans which are entirely in opposition with my outward conduct. It will only be necessary for a few days, and, I doubt not, will be faithfully observed. The Ministers of War and of the Interior will now lay before you the plans they have submitted to me.”

The two Ministers then read to us various reports containing propositions, of which the following is an abridgement.

It was proposed to raise the Reserve of the Years X., XI., XII., and XIII.,* in forty-six departments, in order to complete those regiments remaining on the channel coasts :

To bring into the field on the 1st of January,

* These reserves, consisting of the surplus of the conscription not immediately wanted, remained in the provinces, liable to be called upon in case of urgent necessity.

1806, the conscription of Year XV., viz., those young men who would be twenty years of age on January 1st, 1807.

To establish a camp of mounted Velites.

To send the Guards of Honour to join the Army.

To re-organise the National Guard of the Empire.

To offer to all retired sub-officers and soldiers advantages which should induce them to return to active service.

Of all these proposals the most remarkable was that of the re-organization of the National Guard. This new impulse given to the public spirit of the nation, this sudden formation of armed clubs all over France, after the experience we had had of their influence during the course of the Revolution, deserved close consideration. But the Emperor carried us all with him by the force of his eloquence, and after a short discussion, he resumed :

“ I should be a fool if I asked for all these things for the present campaign. I have everything I want—stores, troops, horses, and artillery. My army is in splendid condition. It has marched all across France, without one single deserter. The troops have been made welcome everywhere: people have vied with each other in entertaining and feeding my soldiers. Nor has one of them given the slightest cause of complaint.* But, if for the

* This was literally true. The army, at that time, was as

present, I am at ease, if, for the moment, I have no wants, I must provide against those which will be entailed by a war that may be prolonged for two or three years. While I am at work at the other end of Germany the nation must be answerable to me for itself. It must garrison the strongholds, and protect the stores of the interior. It must, if necessary, repel an invasion, or an attempt of the enemy on our coasts. The former spirit of France must be revived. She must show Europe that she is one with her head, that she takes part in his designs and seconds them. I am only on the throne, because France willed it to be so. She elected me. I am of her making, and she must sustain me. If the shouts with which she has so often saluted me are not the basest flattery, if they are sincere, I can rely upon her, and too much publicity and solemnity cannot be given to the request I am about to make of her. On the eve of my departure, therefore, I shall go to the Senate. I shall tell them of Austria's behaviour. I shall call on all the powers of the nation to assist me in the great enterprise of avenging the name of France. I shall kindle in every heart the love of glory and of honour. I shall then set out, and before the news of my doings in Paris has reached

well disciplined as it was brave. It was not so at a later period, and the system of warfare adopted by the Emperor, in subsequent campaigns, was ruinous to discipline.

our enemies, I shall be in the midst of them and already their conqueror. If the French do not answer to my call, if they prefer obeying the Russians or the Austrians, let them bear the disgraceful yoke! They are not what I took them for."

After this vigorous and prophetic address from Napoleon, we turned to the preparation of the *Senatus-Consultum* to be laid before the Senate at the sitting at which the Emperor proposed to be present. Two of those proceedings were contemplated—one to relate to the re-organisation of the National Guard, and the other to order the Guard of Honour to join the army. The Section of the Interior discussed these measures during the evening. The others were referred to the Section of War. On the following day, the first complementary day of Year XIII. (Sept. 18, 1805), the Council of State was again assembled at St. Cloud under the presidency of the Emperor. The drafts drawn up by the Section of War and the Section of the Interior were read aloud. Those relating to the Conscription were carried without difficulty, but the others underwent some curious modifications. The one concerning the National Guard was restricted to allowing the Emperor to re-organise it in those departments only where he thought it desirable to have recourse to that means

of defence ; and, as the right of appointing officers was reserved to him, the institution was thus altered in its very essence. It could no longer be a source of danger, or an obstacle to authority ; but, on the other hand, it was deprived of its special advantages and of its influence over the public. As for the Guard of Honour, it was agreed, after a discussion of some length, that there should be no decree on the subject ; but that the Minister of the Interior should merely send out a circular requesting them to join the army, where they would be placed under the command of Colonel de Ségur. The secret purpose of this step was that emigrés and former nobles might be introduced into this new corps, and that these gentlemen, after a few months' service, should enter the line as officers, should receive promotion, and after a time the command of regiments ; a favour which was displeasing to the whole army. This became evident at a later period.

With regard to the Government of the country during his absence, the Emperor decreed that Prince Joseph should be President of the Senate, with power to convene that body whenever he thought fit ; that the Ministers should assemble at the Luxembourg, where he resided, once in every week, and that the Arch-chancellor should be present at those meetings, in which the Prince should refer questions which he did not think himself competent to decide either to

the Council of State or to the Emperor himself; and that also all the telegraphic correspondence should be laid before him. On any extraordinary occasion he was to summon the High Constable (Prince Louis) and the Arch-chancellor,* to confer with them on measures to be taken and afterwards to issue orders in his own name. But Prince Joseph had no authority over the Public Exchequer. Neither had he any authority over the Police, and the bulletins on the state of Paris were delivered to the High Constable, as Military Chief, and sent by him to the Emperor.

All these arrangements being definitively settled, the Emperor proceeded in State to the Senate on Monday, the 1st Vendémiaire, Year XIV. (Sept. 23, 1805). M. de Talleyrand read a long report on the political relations between France and Austria since the peace of Lunéville, and drew a vivid picture of our grievances against that Power, passing lightly over those which our acquisitions in Italy might have afforded her against us. The *Senatus-Consultum* drawn up on the preceding day at the Council of State was then presented by Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely and Ségur, and immediately carried. The Emperor concluded the sitting, which had lasted about three quarters of an hour, by a speech in which he declared that he had always

* Arch-treasurer Lebrun was then at Genoa.

ardently desired the continuance of peace ; and then rising, he returned to the Tuileries with the same ceremonies with which he had come. The next morning, the 2nd Vendémiaire (Sept. 24), he set out to join the army.

CHAPTER V.

Unpopularity of the war with the inhabitants of Paris—Embarrassment of the Bank of France and of the Public Exchequer—Declaration of War by Austria and Russia—The impression produced in France—Marvellous successes of the French Army—Defeat of the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar—Battle of Austerlitz—Hopes of peace entertained by the Parisians in consequence of the arrival of Austrian Plenipotentiaries at Napoleon's head-quarters—Displeasure of the Emperor—The Presburg Treaty of Peace—The Emperor commands Prince Joseph to place himself at the head of a French army, and drive the King of Naples from his States, as he had broken his neutrality in the recent war—The Emperor, on his way back from Vienna, stays at Munich to arrange a marriage between Prince Eugene and Princess Augusta of Bavaria—The author receives commands to join Prince Joseph at Naples—He has an audience to take leave of the Emperor—He receives instructions from M. de Talleyrand—He leaves Paris—He sees Lucien Bonaparte at Rome and arrives at Naples a week later than Prince Joseph—Situation of affairs—Formation of a Ministry—Two letters from the Emperor—Gigantic projects—Hard work of the Government at Naples—Silent opposition of Prince Joseph to the Emperor's views—General Regnier occupies Calabria—Prince Joseph resolves on visiting that province.

IN spite of all that the Emperor had obliged the Senate to say, and of all that he had said himself,

public opinion in Paris was not in favour of the war. The people could not witness unmoved the endangering of so many interests, which a series of reverses might entirely ruin; and if there was enthusiasm among the troops, among the people was evident discouragement, which the Emperor's enemies did not fail to keep up. He had scarcely quitted the capital when considerable alarm was evinced at the Bank concerning the exchange of the notes it had put in circulation. There was a deficiency of specie; the rate of exchange had to be lowered, and on the 3rd Vendémiaire, the day after the Emperor's departure, the Bank could only give cash to the amount of three hundred thousand francs (£12,000), accepting only one note for a thousand francs (£40) from each creditor who presented himself. The discontent was grave. The Bank, or at least the principal shareholders, were accused of trading in the specie and of having exported a large quantity. Others laid the scarcity of money on the shoulders of the Government and on the loans made to it by the Bank. But the last accusation was quite unfounded: we of the Council of State were satisfied that such a proceeding had never even been contemplated, and that the evil must be attributed to the greed and the ill-judged speculations of the Governors of the Bank.

The difficulty of the public finances lasted nearly

the whole time of the Emperor's absence. Several councils were held to devise means for lessening the attendant consequences, and various measures more or less adapted to diminish the evil were decreed.

During the whole time that this crisis lasted, the Public Exchequer was in a very strained position; and its difficulties were yet further increased by an extraordinary bounty granted by M. Barbé-Marbois, the then Minister of the Treasury. In order to save the firm of Ouvrard and Vanderbergh, who supplied the Commissariat, from impending failure, he entrusted to them upon the whole of the bonds of the Receivers-General then in the Treasury a sum of eighty-five millions, which the contractors deposited in the Bank. On this deposit the Bank increased its issue of notes, and that operation was partly the cause of the impossibility of paying them at sight.

In granting so great a favour to speculators, M. Barbé-Marbois was doubtless influenced by no blameable motive; but he was wrong, in the first place, to consent to it without authorisation, and in the second, not to have acquainted Prince Joseph with what he had done, for the Prince was thus left without any knowledge of the cause of an evil for which he was obliged to seek a remedy.*

* Prince Joseph having no authority over the Treasury, M. Barbé-Marbois was not, strictly speaking, obliged to render him

In the midst of the agitation caused by such grave irregularities just at the opening of a campaign, Austria and Russia published the declaration of war, in which the two Powers made known the purposes with which they were undertaking it. They set forth that they resorted to arms only in order to restrain the ambition of France, and to oppose her present or future invasion of Italy. They declared, at the same time, that they would lay down their arms on the following conditions only.

any account; but the singular part of this transaction is, that it was for a considerable time concealed from the knowledge of the Emperor. The impression made on the Emperor by the Minister's behaviour is evident from the following letter to his brother. It is dated Schönbrunn, 4th Nivôse (Dec. 25).

MY BROTHER,—I send you an unsealed letter for the Minister of the Public Treasury. You will read it and forward it to him, after sealing it. I do not yet know whether this is folly or treason, but the Coalition had no more useful ally than my Minister. I suspend my judgment until on my arrival, which is near at hand, I can myself verify the facts and discover the truth. As a matter of fact, I believe the man has betrayed me. Meanwhile do not alarm him. Tell him that there is but one way of dispersing the storm which is about to burst over him: it is to restore the bonds which have been taken from the Treasury. Send for the General Cashier in order to learn the total value of the securities taken from his keeping. Consult the Minister of Finance; but say nothing to Cambacérès: I don't know how far the two Michels, who are his friends, may be mixed up in all this business," etc.

In January, 1806, after the Emperor's return to Paris, M. Barbé-Marbois was superseded at the Treasury by M. Molliou.

“France should withdraw within her natural boundaries, viz., the left bank of the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees and the Ocean.

“She should not maintain a single soldier beyond the Rhine, nor in Italy, Switzerland or Holland.

“Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland should be restored to governments quite independent of, and removed from, the influence of France.

“A State should be formed in Italy, for the Bourbon family, consisting of the Milanese and of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.”

The foregoing declaration was adroitly drawn up, with the exception of the last Article. Propositions apparently moderate, and even glorious for France, were offered for her acceptance : they might make an impression in favour of the new Coalition, and obtain for it the approval of the wiser part of the public, who were far from perceiving the necessity of making war to further gigantic projects of aggrandisement, which, even if successful, would endanger the existence of the nation in the future. But the provision in favour of the Bourbons was alarming to this same portion of the public, and destroyed the effect of all the other Articles. And, indeed, it too clearly revealed an intention of encouraging the hopes of the Bourbons : France

would lose all sense of safety and tranquillity, if a country so near her borders were bestowed on a family whose desires it would never satisfy, and who would only make use of it to excite civil discord among the French. Therefore the declaration of war, which in this respect was a blunder, justified Napoleon, in the eyes of France, more fully than all the speeches of his orators and all his articles in the 'Moniteur' could ever have done.

On the other hand, victory came to perfect his justification, and that so brilliantly, that the enthusiasm evoked by his marvellous and rapid campaign soon overpowered every other sentiment, except that of profound admiration.

This wonderful series of victories was uninterrupted, save by the unexpected news received by Prince Joseph, on the 13th Brumaire, Year XIV. (Nov. 4, 1805), of the disasters sustained by our fleet, while the exploits of our armies were amazing all Europe. The following particulars concerning the causes and circumstances of that fatal event were communicated to me at the time.

The combined squadron had left Corunna to return to Cadiz. It consisted of thirty-three French and Spanish ships. Admiral Villeneuve, who was in command, knew that he had been superseded by Admiral Rosily. The Admiral had been attacked by the 'Moniteur' of the 13th Fructidor,

in an article containing these words dictated by the Emperor : " Nothing is wanting to the French navy but a man of nerve, cool courage, and audacity; some day, perhaps, such a man will arise, and then the world will see of what our sailors are capable." Villeneuve would not wait for the arrival of his successor. He, therefore, came out of Cadiz on the 30th Vendémiaire (Oct. 21). Rosily was not to arrive until the next day, and on making up his mind to this step, he wrote as follows : " I will show the Emperor that I have nerve and courage, but that both are insufficient without either officers or sailors."

The squadron fell in with the English fleet on the same day, and the battle began almost within sight of Cadiz, close to Cape Trafalgar, whence this celebrated naval engagement has received its name. The French and Spanish lost twenty-two vessels, the *Bucentaur*, Villeneuve's flag-ship, was sunk, and the Admiral taken a prisoner to England. Nelson, the victorious hero, was struck down in the midst of his triumph, and Admiral Gravina had an arm shot off. This utter defeat annihilated the French navy, which never recovered itself under Imperial rule.

The ' Moniteur ' was silent on the subject, and as the particulars I have just given were little known at first, much less sensation was produced than if the facts of the case had been less carefully concealed

from the public. On the other hand, the bulletins from the Grand Army, arriving in rapid succession, and announcing a fresh victory almost every day, exclusively engrossed public attention. The news of the battle of Austerlitz, which reached Paris on the 20th Frimaire (Dec. 10), and the thirtieth bulletin, giving particulars of that battle, aroused popular enthusiasm to the highest point and effaced all recollection of our naval reverses.

France could reap no more precious harvest from all her glorious exploits than peace, and it was the hope of obtaining that which interested her so deeply in the successes of our troops. The arrival of the Austrian plenipotentiaries at the Emperor's head-quarters had been announced at the theatres in Paris, and had excited tumultuous expressions of joy. Hope had become still stronger after Austerlitz, and little doubt was felt that a peace both glorious and advantageous to France would soon be concluded. But the Emperor showed great displeasure at his brother's eagerness to welcome and encourage rumours of peace. Either he apprehended that it would be forced upon him by the will of the people, or else he wanted to make the Austrian negotiators understand that he did not regard peace as necessary for himself, and was therefore resolved to remain master of the situation; for he repeatedly blamed the conduct of

Prince Joseph. He even wrote him, at the beginning of Frimaire, a remarkable letter on this subject, of which the following is an extract copied from the original on the very day that it was received, the 4th Nivôse (Dec. 24).

“My brother—I have received your letter of 16 Frimaire. I am sorry you took so much notice of the news of the arrival of the Austrian plenipotentiaries, and that you are so weak as to be guided by the talk of persons who are for peace at any price. It is not peace that is important, but the conditions on which it is made, and the subject is too complicated to be understood by the *bourgeoisie* of Paris. I am not in the habit of guiding my policy by the talk of Parisian idlers. My people will always be satisfied when I am. Either I carry out my words or I die. The same voices that to-day are crying out for peace, would to-morrow condemn the conditions on which I had accepted it. The public must not be misled by the newspapers; I am greatly displeased with the ‘*Journal de Paris*,’* in particular, and with some articles it has lately published. Only fools or knaves could think or write in such a way.”

But this haughty language did not in any way interfere with the progress of the negotiations.

* It was at that time under M. Roederer's direction, and he was the writer of numerous articles remarkable for their moderation and ability.

They were carried on at Presburg by M. de Talleyrand, while the Emperor remained at Schönbrunn, near Vienna, whence he was able to follow their course; and they terminated in the Treaty of the 6th Nivôse (Dec. 26), signed on the part of France by M. de Talleyrand, and by Prince Lichstentein and Count Giulay on the part of Austria. By this treaty the Emperor of Germany lost the Tyrol, and his possessions in Swabia and Bresgau; the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg gained the title of King; Venice and the adjoining territory, that had been ceded to the Emperor Francis by the Treaty of Campo-Formio, were united to the kingdom of Italy; in short, Austria was limited to her hereditary possessions. Never had victor imposed harder conditions on the vanquished; but we must, in justice, admit that they might have been harder still: the very existence of the House of Hapsburg was at that moment in Napoleon's hands.

The Treaty of Presburg was the last diplomatic act dated from the Revolutionary Era, which expired on the 11th Nivôse, Year XIV. (Dec. 31, 1805). On the following day, January 1, 1806, the use of the Gregorian Calendar was resumed.

Everything that could recall Republican customs was thus fast disappearing; and an Imperial régime succeeded to a period of thirteen years and three months, in which a revolution, begun on noble

principles of liberty and independence, brought a great people, first, from a state of anarchy to one of popular tyranny, and then, by an outbreak in an opposite direction, destroyed the latter, and from the restoration of order proceeded to absolute monarchy. This dominating power, founded on glorious trophies, supported by armed force, directed by a man of extraordinary genius and ability, seemed imperishable; and yet all these things failed to sustain it, when it was no longer protected by the the popular feeling and affection of France. But at the period of which I speak, when bales of colours taken from the enemy were unrolled to adorn the ceilings of the Luxembourg, when all that is flattering to the vanity and pride of a vain, glory-loving people contributed to console them for their lost liberty, what voice would have ventured to predict that the hero whose own character was so powerful, and who was so favoured by destiny, had already reached the zenith of his greatness; that, not content to remain there, he would weaken his empire by endeavouring to extend it; that, in short, from that moment he began the descent to the abyss in which he and his vast conquests were to be engulfed. Yet this was to be, although the end was as yet undiscernible. The intoxication was universal, and it was unmingled with any apprehension for the future: the time for reflection was not yet come. An eager crowd filled

the streets through which the procession bearing the flags sent by the Emperor to the Senate was to pass ; and although some of the acclamations were paid for by the police, the origin of those was readily detected : the others were sufficiently sincere and numerous to satisfy the hero in whose honour they were raised.

The peace just concluded by the Emperor reduced Austria to complete inaction, and left him free to turn his thoughts to Italy. He had to chastise the disloyalty of a Power, which, breaking through a recent treaty of neutrality, had invited the Russians to the Mediterranean, and had opened its ports to them. This act was odious on account of its breach of faith, and as useless as it was impolitic, so long as the fortune of war was still undecided in Germany. But the Neapolitan Court, blinded by the passions of a revengeful Queen, had scorned the dictates of prudence ; and now that it was abandoned by those whose aid it had evoked, and was reduced to the aid of the English, who although masters of the sea, could neither defend the capital nor the country ; now that it found itself incapable of resistance, nothing was left for it but a disgraceful flight. Its subjects and its possessions were left to the mercy of an exasperated enemy.

Napoleon lost not a moment. From Schönbrunn, he sent orders to his brother Joseph to march on

Naples at the head of the army that Massena was assembling in Upper Italy. The Prince left Paris on the 9th of January, 1806. There is no doubt that wise policy and a righteous indignation imposed on the Emperor the duty of punishing the King of Naples for his treachery; but, at the same time, the ease with which he took possession of the kingdom was fatal to his dynasty, by tempting him to drive away the former rulers, and to bestow his conquest on members of his own family. He now entered for the first time on the system of founding subordinate monarchies, to be subsequently distributed among his kinsmen, a system, which, as it roused all Europe against him, hastened his downfall.

The Emperor had left Schönbrunn immediately after the signature of the Treaty of Presburg, and had proceeded to Munich, where he arrived on the 31st of December, 1805. While there he arranged a marriage between Prince Eugene Beauharnais, whom he had adopted, and on whom he had conferred the succession to the crown of Italy, and Princess Augusta, daughter of the new-made King of Bavaria.

He then set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 26th of January, at nine P.M. I saw him on the following day, when he received the Council of State in a friendly way. He was full of animation and activity, and had not suffered in health from the fatigues of the campaign. He was much stouter. He talked

a great deal about what had taken place in Paris during his absence, especially the affair of the Bank, and severely censured the greed of the Financiers belonging to the administration of the bank, who had made a fraudulent bankruptcy by suspending the payment of notes, while they divided the profit of the bonds among the bondholders. He told us that he should make an example, and prosecute the Governors of the Bank. He expressed his satisfaction with the public administration in other respects. "All has gone well," said he, "during my absence, with the exception of the finances."

On the next morning I received a letter from him in the following terms: "Monsieur Miot—It is my desire that you should leave Paris on the 30th of this month, for the headquarters of the army of Naples, where you will put yourself under the orders of Prince Joseph, my Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-chief of the army of Naples. He will employ you, in the administration of the kingdom of Naples, in such way as he shall consider most conducive to the interests to my service. On which, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping. Given at Paris, January 27th, 1806."

I had some reason to expect the Emperor to come to this decision concerning me. Prince Joseph, on taking leave of me, eighteen days before, had said that he did not wish to be parted from me, and that

he should make it the subject of a request to the Emperor. He would even have proposed that I should accompany him at once, had not a special authorisation and even a positive order been necessary before, as a Councillor of State, I could absent myself. It was not, however, without deep emotion that I perused the letter that thus disposed of my fate. I was about to leave my country, to relinquish the position of honourable ease that I was enjoying in Paris, for an uncertain future in a foreign land. On the other hand, I should again be in the society of a man for whom I entertained a profound affection, whose amiable disposition attracted me more and more, and who lavished upon me every day the most flattering proofs of his confidence. In attaching myself to his fortunes, I sought to gratify my feelings rather than my ambition, and I took a sort of pride in making a sacrifice which I felt sure would be appreciated. Lastly, I was relinquishing functions, which, although they had brought me very little in contact with the police properly so called, had nevertheless often been repugnant to me. Therefore, I at once made up my mind to accept my new post.

The Emperor, whom I saw the next day at the Tuileries, told me not to start until he should have again seen me, and bade me wait on him the following morning at his *lever*. I accordingly presented

myself at nine A.M. on the 30th of January; and having summoned me to his cabinet, he conversed with me for a considerable time. I will give an abridgement of that conversation, the last I held with him during the days of his prosperity.

“ You are about to join my brother. You will tell him, that I am making him King of Naples, that he remains Grand Elector, and that I am making no change in his relations with France. But tell him, also, that the least hesitation, the slightest vacillation will ruin him utterly. In my own mind, I have another already appointed in his place, if he declines it. I shall call that other, Napoleon; he shall be my son. It was my brother's behaviour at St. Cloud, it was his refusal to accept the crown of Italy, that made me adopt Eugène for my son. I am still determined to give the same prerogative to another, if he drives me to it. Every natural affection must yield before the welfare of the State. I only recognize as kinsmen those who are useful to me. Fortune is not attached to the name of Bonaparte, but to that of Napoleon. It is with my hand and my pen that I beget children. I can now only love those whom I esteem. Joseph must forget all the ties and all the affections of childhood. He must win esteem! He must acquire glory! He must get wounded in a battle! I can esteem him then. He must give up all his former ideas! He must no longer dread

fatigue! It is only by despising that, and by hard work, that a man becomes anything, it is not by coursing hares at Morfontaine. Look at me, my last campaign with its fatigues and anxieties has fattened me. I believe that if all the Kings of Europe joined the coalition against me, I should be as fat as a London alderman.

“I am giving a splendid opportunity to my brother. Let him govern his new States firmly and with wisdom! Let him prove himself worthy of all my gifts! But to be at Naples is nothing, and no doubt you will find he has already arrived—for I do not think there can have been any resistance—Sicily must be taken. He must push on the war with vigour! He must be seen at the head of his troops! He must be firm! That is the only way of gaining the esteem of soldiers. I shall leave with him fourteen regiments of the line, five of cavalry—in all, about forty thousand men. Let him provide for that portion of my army; it is the only tax I levy on him.

“But above all, he must prevent M——’s robberies. The sums he receives from the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples, must provide for my troops and not be spent in enriching rogues. What M—— did in the Venetian States is frightful. And it is not over yet. He must dismiss him, therefore, at the first proof of his dishonesty! I neither fear nor spare my Generals.

“As to S——, I have already told my brother not to let him rob quite so unrestrainedly. I would not deprive him of an able man who may be of service to him; but he only went to those parts to pile up a few more millions. He is already rich enough. Watch those two men; and don't let them bring dishonour on my brother's reputation. He will make you his Minister of War.

“You have heard me; I can no longer have obscure kinsmen. Those who do not rise with me, cease to belong to my family. I am making it a family of Kings, or rather of Vice-Kings, for the King of Italy, the King of Naples, and others whom I do not name will all belong to the Federal system. I am willing however to forget the behaviour of two of my brothers towards me; let Lucien put away his wife, and I will give him a throne. As for Jerome, he has already partly made up for his offences. After his year's cruise,* I shall marry him to a princess; but I will never allow Lucien's wife to seat herself beside me.”

I interrupted this long tirade with a few words only. I endeavoured to direct the Emperor's thoughts into a milder and more kindly course; but his sharp replies convinced me that this extraordinary man was then entirely engrossed by the various combinations of his ambitious policy, and

* He was serving in the Navy.

that he held natural affection as nought when it interfered with his plans. I withdrew, fully convinced that Prince Joseph's only course was one of entire submission.

M. de Talleyrand, on whom I called, after leaving the audience chamber, confirmed me in this impression, and also gave me his views of what the Prince's conduct at Naples ought to be. "He should simply ascend the throne," said the Minister, "making no constitution, leaving the nobility and the various institutions just as he finds them in the country; but he should appoint Frenchmen only to office. To give places to the natives of the country would only serve to encourage either one faction or the other.* He should instantly confer on himself the Neapolitan Order, send a decoration to the Emperor, and bestow them on the persons about him; in fact he should act exactly as if he ascended the Throne in the natural order." M. de Talleyrand added that he hoped the Prince would retain the Marquis de Gallo† as Neapolitan Ambassador to Paris, and that there was no doubt the Emperor would approve of the selection.

These counsels, little in harmony with those that

* Since the Revolution of 1799 the country had been divided into two parties, the Republicans, who through the help of the French had been the dominant party, and the Royalists.

† The same whom I had met at Montebello in 1797.

Napoleon had just given me, were not and could not be followed. They show that M. de Talleyrand knew little of the state of the country, and that he was unaware that the French could make for themselves no stable position, unless they offered political advantages of some kind to the inhabitants. To leave the nation altogether under the yoke of the feudal system that had hitherto weighed it down; to make no attempt to satisfy the wants which the progress of education had called into existence, at any rate in the more intelligent part of society, if not in its whole mass; to do nothing to raise the lower classes out of the state of ignorance and prejudice in which they were kept by the influence of the priests, would have been equally impolitic and dishonourable. Prince Joseph acted on very different principles, and he was right: he thus bestowed a better government on the country, and the good he effected still subsists, notwithstanding the subsequent revolutions.

I left Paris for Naples on January 31, 1806. As I am now about to be separated from France for a period of several years, and far removed from the great political arena, I feel that the observations I made and consigned to my journal during those years will awaken less interest than may perhaps have been felt in these Memoirs up to the present time, for the stage will be a narrower

one. I cannot help thinking, however, that the country I am about to describe, the events of which it was the theatre, the description of its manners in relation to the institutions which it was sought to establish, and the aspect under which I shall present Napoleon's policy with regard to his conquests, will be found interesting by the reader.

I travelled through Lyons, Chambéry, and Savoy. I stayed two days in Rome, where I saw M. Lucien Bonaparte. He had taken up his abode in a magnificent palace, in which he had gathered together a valuable collection of pictures and antiques. Among other curiosities, I noticed the Minerva from the Giustiniani Palace; this was a recent acquisition. Our conversation ran entirely on art and literature,* he carefully avoided every subject which might have led him to express an opinion on the political situation. I had therefore no opportunity of mentioning what had passed concerning him in my last conversation with the Emperor before my departure, and which in all probability had been said to me in order that I might repeat it. But the subject was too delicate for me to enter upon it directly, and nothing was said to lead to its introduction.

* He was at that time engaged on an Epic poem, *Charlemagne*, which he dedicated to the Pope. It was published by Firmin Didot in 1815.

I reached Naples on the 20th of February, 1806. Prince Joseph and the army had arrived there a week before. He had met with no opposition; Gaëta only had not surrendered, but as that fortress was not on the line of route, the advance of our troops had not been delayed, and they had entered Naples without difficulty. The Forts had capitulated, and the Island of Capri, at the entrance of the Gulf of Naples, was in the occupation of the French.

Notwithstanding this rapid success, the state of affairs was not very satisfactory, and my first thoughts were directed neither to the beauty of the country nor to the objects of interest to a traveller in the town and its neighbourhood. We were not yet masters of the country; Gaëta would have to be regularly besieged, and time was needed to collect the necessary means for undertaking this, and for bringing a siege to a successful conclusion. Calabria was occupied by the Neapolitan army, which having fled before the French, now purposed to defend the passes of the Apennines. An expedition to Sicily, to complete the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, presented almost insurmountable difficulties; immense preparations would be required, as well as a navy, which we did not possess, and which we must create. The public treasury was absolutely empty; the former Court, on escaping to Palermo, had carried away money, jewels, and

furniture, leaving the palace quite dismantled. The French troops were arriving from Upper Italy, with their pay already more than three months in arrear, while we were entirely without the means of either defraying this enormous debt, or providing for the current expenses by which it was every day increased.

Amid all these difficulties, it was necessary to organize an administration. The Prince, who was desirous from the very first of gaining the affection of the people whom he was called upon to govern, thought that the best means to that end would be to select his Ministers and the principal Government officials from among the Neapolitans; acting in this on views entirely different from those of M. de Talleyrand, and even from the Emperor's, who had intended me for the post of War Minister. The Prince, adopting an opposite course, at first nominated an exclusively national Ministry; but on perceiving the dislike that would be felt by French officers, to being brought into contact with a Neapolitan General, and receiving orders from him, he altered his plan, and made choice of two French Ministers: myself for war, and Salicetti for Police.* These alterations being made, the Neapolitan administration was composed as follows:—

M. de Cianciulli, a celebrated lawyer, and one of

* He had arrived at Naples a few days before me.

the first men in Naples, Minister of Grace and Justice.

Prince Bisignano, belonging to the San-Severini family, Minister of Finance.

Commander Pignatelli, Minister of the Navy.

The Duke de Cassano, belonging to the Serra family of Genoa, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Duke de Campo-Chiaro, Minister of the Household.

The Marquis de Gallo, Ambassador at Paris, but recalled thence, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. Salicetti, Minister of Police, and myself, Minister of War.

This Administration, as the reader will perceive, was partly Neapolitan and partly French, the Neapolitan element being in the majority. It did not, however, last long without alteration. On General Mathieu Dumas' arrival shortly afterwards, the War Department was confided to him, and a Ministry of the Interior was created, to which I was appointed. Lastly, Prince Bisignano having at first made great difficulties about accepting the Ministry of Finance, M. Rœderer who came to Naples in the following May, took his place, and the Administration thus composed continued to exist during the whole of Joseph's reign at Naples, with a few exceptions, which I shall take occasion to note.

These first arrangements being made, the Govern-

ment began to assume a regular form. The Prince applied himself assiduously to business, holding several councils, and showing himself frequently in public. Generally speaking, he was tolerably well received; his treatment of the Neapolitans, whom he had gathered around him, and whom he had appointed to various official posts, gained him many adherents. The former Court party had fled, leaving neither love nor regret behind them, but infinite prudence was needed to restrain the pretensions of those who had accomplished the revolution of 1799, and who, having been so cruelly ill-used by the Queen and Cardinal Ruffo, were now persuaded that the French would take their part, and give them an opportunity of revenge on their persecutors. These men must neither be propitiated, nor yet driven to extremity; a very difficult course to follow, as instructions from Paris forbade all concessions in their favour, and according to the principles of government just adopted by the Emperor, the revolutionary ideas which we had sown broadcast throughout the country seven years before, were now absolutely rejected. In every letter, the Emperor advised the Prince to disarm the Neapolitans; to distrust them, and to be constantly on his guard against them.

I will give extracts from two of these letters, from which the reader will see, more clearly than I

can set them forth, the Emperor's opinions on the country, and the line of conduct he wished the Prince to adopt.

The first letter dated March 1st, was as follows :—

“MY BROTHER,—I have received your letters. Such difficulties as yours are experienced in all newly-conquered countries. You must expect an insurrection ; it will happen sooner or later. I suppose you have provisioned your forts, and that you have appointed commandants *ad hoc*. I send you five or six auditors ; they are well-informed young men of proved honesty, who have for some time belonged to the Council of State. Miot is, I suppose, now with you. I have sent Arcambal to you.* I have ordered Radet,† who is at Naples, to join you in order to organize the gendarmerie. Send the Jesuits back to their houses ; there are probably very few Neapolitans among them. I do not recognize that order.

“Sooner or later I will make the people of Barbary respect Neapolitan ships. But you know what brutes the Turks are. I have made them acknowledge the kingdom of Italy, but they understand nothing about it. Try to sail the Neapolitan ships under my flag ; your marine agents ought to know how to do this.

* One of the Commissioners Directors of the army.

† A general commanding the artillery.

“Announce my arrival in Italy. It will, however, be difficult for me to get to Naples. It is a long journey.

“Arm your forts! disarm the Neapolitans!

“Believe me, you will never maintain yourself in that country by public opinion. Sooner or later you will have an insurrection; levy a tax of five or six millions on Naples. The army must be supported by the country. Be merciless to those who rob. M—— has seized on everything. We have it on the authority of S—— that he (M——) has received three millions as a gift.* He must disgorge them; if he does not, he shall be made responsible for that sum in the accounts I shall publish in the month of May of the disbursement of the contributions levied in Germany, and I will appoint a Commission of seven or eight generals that will make him account for it.”

The other letter, dated March 6th, was written in the same tone. “You can send me your convicts (*galériens*),” he wrote to his brother, “if they inconvenience you.† Turn the fifteen

* One of M——’s secret agents in the Italian army; he was then in Paris.

† At Naples there was a large number of convicts who gave a great deal of trouble. Many escaped and went to swell the number of brigands in the provinces. The police-soldiers who had charge of them were no better than their prisoners, and we could not employ the French troops in a service so distasteful to them.

thousand lazzaroni out of Naples ; remember that sooner or later you will have an insurrection. Tell me about the fort ; establish, as I did at Cairo, mortar batteries, capable of destroying the town in case of revolt. You will have no need to use those murderous instruments, but they will be your safeguard. Impose on the whole kingdom a tax of thirty millions. It is well able to pay it. Naples is richer than was Vienna or Milan, when I entered those cities. Your army and your generals must live well. The kingdom of Naples, without counting Sicily, should return one hundred millions. If it does not do so, it is because the former system, established by the kings of Spain when they governed by viceroys, is still maintained. You say you have no money ; but you have a good army, and nothing can be wanting to you since you hold the fiefs and goods of the clergy. In a fortnight or three weeks a decree from you or from me must order the restoration of all property and all taxes, of whatever nature, that have been alienated from the crown, even had that alienation existed from time immemorial. You must not count on me. The five hundred thousand francs that I have sent you are the very last moneys I shall send to Naples. Not so much on account of the two or three millions it might cost me, as of the principle it involves."

Independently of these instructions, or to speak more accurately, of these secret orders, for the regulation of the Prince's conduct, we can discern the Emperor's general views on his future projects in his correspondence. He contemplated going to Rome, taking the title of Emperor of the West, being again crowned by the Pope in that character, leaving the spiritual power only in the hands of the Holy See, with a revenue of one or two millions; in fact, acting Charlemagne over again, as Fontanes had often advised him. These propositions were suggested to the Pope, without being officially communicated to him. But he no sooner understood them, than he imparted them to the Cardinals, at a meeting to which they were all summoned, with the exception of Cardinal Fesch.

This assembly declared unanimously that it was better to die than to live under conditions so severe, and the Pope wrote to the Emperor refusing his consent, in a letter as firm as it was temperate.

From the letters already quoted, and from the details I have given, it is easy to perceive to what a height the pretensions of the Emperor had been raised by the success of the last campaign and the consequent humiliation of the house of Austria. The spirit of absolute dominion in which he ruled

France was also manifested in his dealings with the conquered countries, and at the same time it was seen how little he respected those ancient institutions which M. de Talleyrand had tried to preserve to the nations whom he subdued. But, curiously enough, the Prince's character caused him to dislike both systems equally. He was strongly opposed to all measures of severity. He was of a sanguine disposition, and, flattering himself that he would be able, by his speeches, his pleasant words, and gracious manners, to win all hearts, he always refused to recognize enemies in those about him. Thus, far from hedging himself round with suspicion, far from adopting the threatening attitude prescribed to him by his brother, he gave way to his natural inclinations, and the smallest token of amity was sufficient to satisfy him of the good intentions of those who bestowed it. On the other hand, his philosophical opinions, the part he had played in France at the beginning of the Revolution, as an ardent republican, now rendered him inimical to all those who clung to the ancient feudal institutions, and although he greatly desired to win the good opinion of the nobility and clergy, and to this end treated those two classes more favourably than any others, yet he was not inclined to protect their rights and privileges. He merely wished that the sacrifices which he exacted should be as little

onerous as possible for those who made them, and he managed this with some success in his financial measures. He had his reward. During his short term of government, he prevented all danger of an insurrection in Naples, without resorting to extreme measures, and he provided for the wants of the State without severe exactions. I shall have occasion to point this out hereafter. I now revert to the commencement of his reign.

It began, as we have seen, with many difficulties. To the local troubles were added the pretensions of the French army, and, above all, of the generals, who were made rapacious by some examples of rapidly-acquired wealth. The despatches received from Paris, far from rectifying the evil, gave rise to fresh difficulties. The Emperor insisted on a complete dependence and a blind obedience. The Prince, who desired to deal honestly with the country over which he was so soon to reign, endeavoured to make himself more worthy of the throne by acting with independence, and at the same time to render his accession the beginning of a new political era for the kingdom. From this resulted an opposition, if not open, at least tacit, to everything coming from Paris. The agents sent thence, when not chosen by the Prince himself, were regarded by him as spies upon his conduct. He consequently refused admittance to the auditors of

the Council of State, who had been delegated to him, and whom he dismissed from Naples, without having allowed them the least participation in public affairs.

Thus were germs of discord introduced into the new Imperial family: and they subsequently developed themselves with consequences fatal to the system established by the Emperor, and largely contributed to accelerate its downfall.

For the present these ominous symptoms of dissension were entirely confined to the interior of the Cabinet, and were only recognised by persons admitted to the Prince's confidence, and who could unravel the threads, and foresee the results. Externally, affairs progressed with every appearance of harmony and activity. The conquest of Italy was carried on; a portion of the army under the command of General Regnier, had left Naples to occupy Calabria. That able general fulfilled his task with rapidity and success. The Neapolitan troops had been completely beaten in the passes of Campo-Tenese which command the entrance to that country, and which they had in vain attempted to defend. After this first victory the French occupied Northern Calabria without opposition; then crossing the Sila mountains they advanced into southern Calabria and seized on Reggio. Still, notwithstanding this success, the country they had

traversed had not submitted to them. Large bodies of brigands had come over from Sicily, and had spread from the coasts into the interior, exciting a fanatic and ignorant population on all sides to revolt. The line of communication between Naples and the army corps in Calabria was almost entirely broken; to re-establish it by dispersing the brigands, called for immediate attention, and the surest method of doing this was by instructing the population. 7

It was necessary, in order to overcome their repugnance to the French, to abolish the martial laws then in force, in consequence of the late state of war, and to bring about a more just and moderate form of legislation by administrative measures. The Prince thought that no one but himself could succeed in this difficult undertaking, and he determined personally to visit the disturbed parts. A still stronger motive influenced him. It was indispensable that he should make sure that the expedition to Sicily, so constantly urged on him by the Emperor, was possible, and this he could only do by visiting Reggio, and the Italian coasts bordering upon the Straits.

So soon as the Prince had resolved on this journey, he went (March 20) to inspect the siege works at Gaëta; these, however, could make but little progress until the arrival of the heavy artillery from Upper Italy. Having convinced himself that the

town could not be seriously attacked within six weeks' time, he returned to Naples, and fixed his departure for the beginning of April. General Dumas, the newly-appointed Minister of War, was directed to accompany the Prince on this expedition, and I also went with him in the capacity of Minister of the Interior. The other ministers remained at Naples, as also did General Massena, who was in command of the armed forces; he was to act in concert with Salicetti, the Minister of Police, in maintaining order in the capital during the absence of the Prince—with whom they both kept up a direct correspondence.

I had been scarcely six weeks at Naples, when I was obliged to take a month's absence in the very midst of my multifarious occupations; there remained to me, therefore, but little time in which to satisfy my curiosity. Nevertheless, I was enabled to accompany the Prince in his visits to the environs, and I profited by a few leisure moments to extend my observations. I visited, in turn, the principal monuments of Naples, the remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the antiquities of Posilippo and of Baïa, the museums of Naples and of Portici, and even the natural curiosities of the Neapolitan Campagna; among others, the lakes of Averno, of Fusaro, and of Agnano, the celebrated Grotto del Cane, the Châteaux of Portici,

Favorita and Caserta, with their delicious gardens, where the rarest flowers grow almost wild; but those celebrated places have already been described by so many travellers that I shall expatiate on them no farther.

CHAPTER VI.

Prince Joseph's journey in the Calabrias—On April 3rd, in Provinces, the travellers are met by a courier bringing tidings of the Emperor's decree calling Prince Joseph to the throne of Naples, and creating Prince Murat Grand Duke of Berg, and Marshal Berthier Prince of Neufchâtel—The new King's State entry into Naples—The English seize on the island of Capri—Trial and execution of the Marquis of Rodio—A Council of State is instituted—The Neapolitan and French parties in the administration—The eruption of Mount Vesuvius—The English land in the Gulf of Saint Euphemia, defeat General Regnier, and force the French to evacuate the Calabrias which rise in insurrection—The surrender of Gaëta—Massena marches against the Calabrias, puts down the insurrection, and drives out the English—Administrative measures of the Government—Excursions made by the author in the neighbourhood of Naples—Embarrassment caused to the Government, by the imminent danger of war in the north—The French victories remove this danger, and the Administration is in consequence carried on with greater regularity—Financial difficulties—The convents of St. Benedict and St. Bernard are suppressed, but the mendicant orders are maintained—The King and the Author disagree on this subject—A change in the ministry—The auspicious influence of the peace of Tilsit upon the Neapolitan Government—Encouragement of Arts and Sciences—Public works and improvement in the capital.

PRINCE JOSEPH left Naples on the 3rd of April, 1806. I accompanied him on his journey; but as Calabria,

which at that period was but little known to travellers, on account of the difficulty and danger of the roads, has now been both visited and described many times, I shall refrain from giving a detailed account of a journey which would have but little interest for the reader. We went by Salerno, Poëstum, La Chartreuse de la Padula, Lago, Negro and Campo-Tenese (at this latter place the Neapolitan army, having offered some resistance, had been completely defeated by General Regnier); and by Cassano and Cosenza. On the 13th April we were joined at Scigliano by a courier who had left Paris on the 1st. He informed us that the Emperor had declared Prince Joseph, his brother, King of Naples; Prince Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, and Marshal Berthier, Sovereign Prince of Neufchâtel. Besides this general distribution of crowns, the Emperor had definitively united the Venetian States to the Kingdom of Italy. The eldest son of the King of Italy was to bear the title of Duke of Venice. Prince Joseph, on ascending the throne of Naples, retained his title of Grand Elector, and his rights of succession in France, but he could not possess both crowns at the same time. The Emperor reserved to himself twelve Duchies in Italy, six of which * were in

* Of the six Duchies of the kingdom of Naples, four have been given; Reggio (of Calabria) to Marshal Oudinot; Otranto to Fouché, the Minister of Police; Gaëta to Gaudin, Minister of Finance, and Tarento to Marshal Macdonald.

the Italian kingdom, especially in the ancient States of the Venetian Republic, and six were in the kingdom of Naples, with the right of naming their titularies.

From Scigliano we continued our journey by Nicastro, Monteleone, Palmi and Reggio, where the new king was very well received, and here we stayed from the 17th to the 19th of April. From this place, the extreme point of the Peninsula, we worked our way up towards Naples by Geracio, Squillace and Catanzaro, where we remained on the 25th of April. Then, by Cotrone, Cariate, Cassano, Roca, Tarento and Foggia, we reached Caserto, the last town on our route, on the 10th of May. The next day the king made his State entry into Naples. An enormous crowd lined the streets through which he passed, and every window and balcony was filled with spectators. He was cheered by thousands of voices, and received everywhere with the real, or simulated gladness that is never wanting on such occasions. The entire ceremony consisted of a *Te Deum* sung by the Archbishop of Naples*

* Cardinal Louis Ruffo, who must not be confounded with the famous and sanguinary Cardinal Ruffo, who wreaked such cruel vengeance after the revolution of 1799, and to whom the Archbishop of Naples was distantly related. The Cardinal played his part with a very ill-grace on the day of King Joseph's entry into Naples, and withdrew to Rome shortly afterwards, to which city he had received orders to retire, having declined to take the oath of allegiance, so long as the new king refused to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Holy See.

in the Church of the Spirito Santo, which stands at the entrance of the Strada di Toledo. Afterwards the Archbishop joined a numerous procession, which followed the King on foot, along the whole length of that beautiful street so far as the Palace, the ordinary residence of the kings of Naples. Salvoes of artillery were fired from the fortress of Saint Elmo, and from the harbour batteries.

The King was received at the foot of the grand staircase, by the nobility and the heads of the magistracy and the administration. In the midst of this crowd, composed of all the most distinguished men of Naples, he gave audience to a deputation from the French Senate, sent to congratulate him in the name of that body on his succession to the throne. It consisted of Senators Perignone, Férino and Rœderer; the latter was the spokesman.

Fortune, however, tempered the excess of this prosperity by some reverses. While the King was making his entry into Naples, the English appeared in the bay with three men of war and several frigates, and it was feared that they had come to disturb the ceremony by firing on the town. But this was not their purpose; they had a more serious one than a mere demonstration against the forts that defended Naples. During the night of the 11th of May they attacked and took Capri. The small French garrison made a most gallant defence. The

commander was killed, and the garrison surrendered on honourable terms. This event, though unimportant in a military sense, was vexatious in a political one, and made an unfortunate impression at the beginning of the new reign. It also added to the difficulties of the expedition to Sicily, by almost entirely intercepting the maritime communications between the dock-yards and arsenals of Naples and Castellamare, and the coasts of Calabria.

On the other hand, notwithstanding the welcome which the King had just received, this reception was far from inspiring us with confidence in the real sentiments of the people. The absence of the King was unfortunate. He had left a general of high and well-deserved reputation in the capital, but at this time he was entirely under the influence of his resentment against the Emperor, and he was endeavouring to save a portion of the fortune that was slipping from him in the immense sum which he was forced to pay as restitution money. He therefore served the King grudgingly, and no longer evinced the indomitable activity for which he had formerly been renowned, and which he again exhibited at a later period. At the same time that the military command had been given to Massena, the civil administration had been confided to M. Salicetti, Minister of Police, a man of great intelligence, but who was ignorant of any form of

administration except a revolutionary one ; and who without perhaps seeking to increase his own fortune, allowed those about him to make theirs. These two men, who were but too well agreed, had created great discontent by various acts of severity, and above all by the trial and execution of the Marquis de Rodio, who was condemned to death during our journey in Calabria.

I will say a few words on this subject, because it involved a mistake which the King's government found it difficult to repair, although the King himself was quite innocent in the matter.

The Marquis of Rodio was a brigadier in the service of the former court of Naples. When the Neapolitan army retreated after the battle of Campotenese, he was arrested in Calabria or the Basilicata, but he strongly maintained that he had only surrendered as a prisoner of war. He was nevertheless brought before a court-martial, which, by a solemn judgment, declared him innocent of the crime of rebellion and incitement to insurrection, upon which it was summoned to pronounce.

Salicetti was dissatisfied with the finding, and induced Marshal Massena to summon a second court-martial. This court, in spite of the decision of the first, tried the case a second time, and after deliberating three hours condemned Rodio to death. He was executed on the following day. Proceedings so

unusual, and the rapid execution that followed, could not fail to excite universal indignation. The King was not informed of the event until it was too late for remedy,* and his displeasure was extreme. But as he did not make it publicly known, and as no proceedings were instituted against the authors of so criminal an abuse of power, the natural consequences of this deplorable event were soon forthcoming.

Since the King's return, he had taken an active part in the government of the kingdom. A Council of State, constituted in much the same way as that of France, had been organized, and acted in concert with the King in drawing up regulations and decrees of general interest; thus tending to moderate the absolute power that had hitherto been concentrated in the person of the king. The Council of State supervised the Ministers, and put a curb on all arbitrary proceedings. Although I was a Minister, I entirely approved of this arrangement, in which I found support, rather than an obstacle. My personal responsibility was lessened by it, and as the details of my work, in my capacity of Chief of the Department of the Interior, required a special knowledge of the manners and customs of the country, I was enabled to obtain the knowledge, advice, and information absolutely necessary to prevent my falling into error,

* He received the news on the 1st of May, at Cassano, a few minutes before leaving for Tarento.

from the Councillors of State, who, with the exception of two or three Frenchmen, attached specially to the King's service, were all Neapolitans selected for their worth and wisdom. But my colleagues were not all of my way of thinking, the Minister of Police, especially, who was impatient of interference, easily evaded it, under pretext of the secrecy necessary to the exercise of his functions. On the other hand, notwithstanding that the King had summoned a great number of his new subjects to the Ministry, to the Council and to the higher posts of Government, the Neapolitans looked with dislike on the few Frenchmen who shared political duties with them, and, from the very beginning, a contest arose between the two parties which gave great trouble to the Government, and frequently placed me in a very painful position. I did not however allow myself to be discouraged. I devoted all my energies to the duties confided to me, and I thought I was fortunate enough to effect some little good. The fact is that the system of government established in the kingdom during my administration still subsists there.

We had hardly got back to Naples, when an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, following close on the capture of the Island of Capri by the English, became a source of alarm, in addition to that caused by their appearance on the coast, and the landing that they effected in a few places. The people of Naples,

who are habitually superstitious, become more so, whenever the alarming phenomenon of a volcanic eruption takes place; they seldom fail to ascribe it to the Divine wrath, which, if allowed, they would endeavour to appease by a persecution of unbelievers and the undevout—two classes to which all Frenchmen were relegated without distinction by the priests. The eruption fortunately lasted only a few days, and had not such serious consequences as to make a very vivid impression on the imagination of the people. Lastly, the aid that the King hastened to send to those whose property had been injured by the eruption, counter-balanced the influence exerted by the monks in an opposite direction.

But although the tranquillity of Naples had remained undisturbed, the Government found itself in a position of great difficulty. It had become absolutely necessary to obtain possession of Gaëta, which served as a refuge to all the ships of the enemy on the coast, and as a safe retreat for the bands of brigands, whose expeditions intercepted communications between Naples and the Papal States. The heavy artillery had arrived, and the siege had been begun on the 3rd of July; the cannonading, admirably directed by General Val-longue, who perished gloriously during the siege, produced a great effect, and encouraged us to hope for the speedy surrender of the place. Accounts

from Calabria came, however, to disturb our satisfaction at this promising state of things. The English had landed, five or six thousand strong, between Nicastro and Amato in the Gulf of St. Euphemia. General Regnier, who was occupying the heights commanding the river, made a mistake, it would seem, in coming down into the plain to attack them. The English took up a position with their rear to the sea, their flank being protected by their gun-boats, and waited. Our troops advanced with their usual impetuosity, but were taken by surprise by an unexpected movement of the English; the first line fell back in disorder on the second, which likewise gave way and we were completely beaten. General Regnier retreated through the valley of Amato, to Catanzaro and thence to Cortona, abandoning the whole of lower Calabria. As a sequel to this disastrous engagement, a general insurrection broke out in both the Calabrian provinces. General Verdier, who was in command at Cosenza, was obliged to evacuate, not only that fortress, but the whole of Upper Calabria, and we received abundant proof that the favourable reception of us, two months previously in that part of the country was due solely to the fear which the presence of our soldiery inspired. In addition to their troops of the line, the English had landed five or six hundred convicts from Sicily, on the coasts,

and former chiefs of the "Masses,"* such as Fra Diavolo, Pandigrano, Carbone, and others, placed themselves at their head. These bandits kindled disturbance and sedition in the villages on the coast of Amantea, and the mountains between Cosenza and Nicastro, and raised a rebellion throughout the country, which was put down eventually only by the most violent measures and with great bloodshed.

Gaëta having surrendered on the 18th of July, after fifteen days' fighting in the trenches, and a most determined cannonading, the capitulation enabled the Government to despatch all the available troops to the two Calabrias, which had now become the centres of disturbance. Marshal Massena was placed at the head of the expedition which was designed to reconquer the country, and to quell the insurrection. In a Cabinet Council held on the 24th of July, a sort of manifesto was read aloud to us by command of the King. It was drawn up by Salicetti, and was intended to regulate the policy of the Marshal on his advance into the country. According to the provisions of this manifesto, the two Calabrias were declared to be in a state of rebellion; the goods and chattels of the rebels were to be confiscated and sold for the benefit of those inhabitants who had remained

* During the first French campaign in the Kingdom of Naples the name of *Masses* was given to the gatherings of peasants organised by Cardinal Ruffo.

faithful, and who were called by the name of patriots. Gibbets were to be erected, and the revolted villages were to be burned to the ground; all these measures being similar to those which had been taken by the Convention during the Vendean War. It was easy to see that they were very distasteful to the King; but as their indispensable necessity had been represented to him with great exaggeration, he imagined himself obliged to approve of them, and feared to show weakness by drawing back. He believed it his duty, therefore, to support these measures in the Council, and I perceived with regret that Salicetti, by working on his fears, had regained the ascendancy of which his conduct in the Rodio affair should have deprived him for ever.

However, matters were not pushed as far as I had at first apprehended. A debate took place as to whether the manifesto should be made public, or should merely be handed over, confidentially, to Marshal Massena, as a guide for his conduct, and I seized the opportunity of endeavouring to secure that, if the spirit of the manifesto could not be abandoned, it might, at least, be modified. I pointed out that to keep it secret would be an act of cowardice, and would give rise to the idea that either the King could not venture publicly to acknowledge the severe measures that he judged to be necessary, or that those measures were taken by the Marshal

against his will ; both suppositions being equally derogatory to the Royal dignity and character. My arguments prevailed, and so soon as the publication of the manifesto was resolved on, certain modifications were introduced, which, without interfering with the severity imposed by the necessities of the case, removed its objectionable characteristics. Lastly, and this was a still greater advantage, the King seemed resolved on returning to the Calabrias, where, there can be no doubt, his presence would have a salutary effect. The claims of Marshal Massena, who laid down conditions, as it were, before undertaking the expedition, and who demanded more money and more soldiers than the Government was able to supply, had deeply annoyed the King, and he felt the need of escaping from the thralldom that the Marshal, who was in league with Salicetti, was endeavouring to impose on him ; perhaps, he also desired to diminish the influence of the latter over the Government. But he did not carry out his resolve with sufficient firmness. The King himself advanced no farther than the frontier of Upper Calabria, and after passing a few days alternately at Padula and Viotri, where he set up a camp of observation, he returned to Naples about the 15th of August. Some attempts at landing by the English, which had added fresh bands of brigands to the neighbourhood of the capital, had been the

cause of serious alarm, and seemed to call for the presence of the King. Marshal Massena therefore advanced into the Calabrias alone ; some villages were burned, and terror forced those parts of the country into which the French arms were carried, into submission. Cosenza and Catanzaro were retaken, and the English, who were forced to give up the Gulf of St. Euphemia, returned to Sicily. Yet the country was not entirely subdued ; the insurrection, when quelled in one spot, would break out afresh in another, and although the Queen of Naples had kindled, from her retreat in Sicily, and English gold had fostered the rebellion, yet not to those causes alone must we attribute its existence. The death of Rodio, the arbitrary conduct of the generals, the absence of protection for the peaceable inhabitants, or of indulgence towards those who had only momentarily swerved from their allegiance, a misplaced confidence in those " Nationals " who assumed the name of patriots, and were bent on revenge ; all these causes of suspicion and disturbance, and, above all, the hopelessness of obtaining pardon, perpetuated feelings of resentment, and combined to make the ignorant and barbarous populace more than ever amenable to the monks, who zealously promoted political disturbances, and used religious fanaticism as a means to that end.

While these calamities, which the complicated state

of affairs and of public opinion rendered almost inevitable, were laying waste one of the most beautiful districts of the kingdom, the King, who was more securely settled at Naples than he had heretofore been, continued to devote himself to the task of government. He was carrying out the plans he had formed for the destruction of feudality, and preparing the way for the partial suppression of some of the convents; he was also meditating the institution of a new Order of Knighthood, intended to take the place of the suppressed Order of St. Januarius. He also gave his attention to the other branches of the administration, and particularly to public education, which was greatly improved. I assisted him in these beneficial changes, and M. Rœderer, in his capacity of Finance Minister, obtained his sanction to an excellent scheme, by which the collection of local taxes, long since unjustly alienated from the State and placed in the hands of the former barons, was recovered from them; while they were amply indemnified by being made creditors of the State. All other State-trusts were subsequently treated in a similar way, and it is from this mode of payment that the Neapolitan 'Rentes,' which still enjoy considerable repute in Europe, derive their origin. But, as I have no intention of describing these various steps in detail, I confine myself in this place to simply pointing them out, and stating that, on the

whole, they were characterised by the judicious application of sound principles and by the strictest justice.*

Although my time was usually engrossed by the duties of the ministry that had been entrusted to me, I took advantage of occasional leisure to make various excursions in the neighbourhood of Naples. I will linger awhile over those which made most impression on me, and to which some slight interest may still attach. Among them is an excursion to Mount St. Angelo and a journey to Nola.

The King had taken up his abode at *Qui-si-sana*,† a royal residence above Castellamare. The woods around it afford delicious shade in the burning heats of summer. The house is built in front of a mountain, which we climbed on the 17th of August, 1806. The path is rough and rugged, but shaded to the very summit by beautiful trees. It took us two hours and a half to reach the bare and rugged ridge which forms the apex of the mountain, whence we enjoyed a

* The reader who feels interested in the improvements made in the Neapolitan Administration during the reign of King Joseph, will find a description of them in my *Account* (rendered to the King on March 28, 1808) *of the state of the Kingdom of Naples during the years 1806 and 1807*, which was published at Naples in Italian and in French.

† “*Qui-si-sana*”—Health is regained here. This name was given to the building on account of the salubrity of the air, which contributes to the speedy restoration of health when weakened by the heat of Naples.

magnificent view. Beneath us, lay the Bay of Naples, in its widest extent; in the background was Vesuvius, and the rich plains stretching from the foot of the mountain unto the sea; with Mount Posilippo, (Virgil's tomb); the Islands of Procida and Ischia, and Cape Misena in the distance. We overlooked at the same time Sorrento (the birthplace of Tasso), Vico, Castellamare, and the whole southern coast of the bay. But the summit on which we stood is not the highest point of the chain, and in order to reach it, a much higher and almost inaccessible peak must be climbed. A hermitage built on the summit of this peak is called Mount St. Angelo, or *Di tre pizzi*.* We undertook this ascent also, through the most splendid scenery. Magnificent trees, and picturesque masses of rocks formed charming pictures at every step. At last, we reached the peak that was the object of our journey. From this point we had the same admirable view, as from our first resting place, but of vaster extent. We could see, in addition, the Gulf of Salerno, the coast of Pæstum, and in the distance the mountains of the Cilento.† No words can describe the extreme beauty of the

* "*The three peaks*" which crown the mountain. That of St. Angelo is the loftiest.

† A region of the province of Salerno, situated between Sela and Alento is so called. Pæstum and Velia, or Elea, which has given its name to a sect of philosophers in Cilento.

view. The air was clear, but very cold in the shade. We left this exquisite spot with regret; it is far more remarkable than the Camaldoli visited by every traveller, but it is less frequented on account of the distance and the difficulty of the way thither.

The whole mountain is of chalk formation, lying for the most part in horizontal strata. In some places the ground is covered with volcanic ashes, evidently cast there by the eruptions of Vesuvius, for there is nothing volcanic in the formation of the mountain. We reached Quì-si-sana on our return by four o'clock P.M.

A few days after this first excursion, I left Naples, to be present at some excavations in the neighbourhood of Nola.

Four newly-discovered tombs were opened in my presence; in each was a full-grown skeleton and a few vases; but the latter were neither very large nor of fine workmanship; and as the process of excavation is always the same, and has been very frequently described, I will not linger over that which I witnessed.

The enjoyment I found in these excursions was of brief duration, and I was soon recalled to the cares of government. The state of public affairs was causing great disquiet. The impending war in the north between France and Prussia, the emis-

saries from the court of Palermo who were scattered throughout the country, and the money provided by England, had emboldened the bands of brigands, who often showed themselves in close proximity to Naples. Some of the Neapolitans who had accepted office under the new King took fright, and several of them resigned their posts and even quitted the kingdom lest they should be exposed to the vengeance of the former rulers, if the French were once more forced to relinquish their conquest. In this precarious position, credit utterly disappeared; the collection of taxes became more difficult than ever, and even had it been effected with regularity and completeness, it could not have sufficed to the needs of the State. The troops were therefore living hap-hazard, as it were, at the very gates of the capital. The most alarming rumours were in circulation, and were everywhere eagerly received. The Council of State, instituted by the King, far from helping him out of his difficulties, served rather to increase them. Its members, fearing to involve themselves more deeply, created fresh obstacles, and rejected every financial measure that was proposed as a means of escape from the crisis, without suggesting any others in their place. Their opposition did not spring from a wish to promote better measures than those under discussion; they rejected everything indiscriminately; they took

pleasure in pointing out the defects in any given system, without seeking for a remedy, and restricted themselves to discrediting beforehand every measure taken by the Government. The King's intention, in forming that Council, was to convince the people that the resolutions he was obliged to take were needful, and by having them fully discussed by the principal men of the kingdom whom he had summoned to advise him, he had hoped, so to speak, to obtain advocates who would defend and support them in public opinion. From this point of view, the Council was a wise and politic institution; but when the moment of danger came, an exactly contrary effect was produced. Immediately on the appearance of uncertainty in the future—and in our then position that uncertainty daily increased—the Council became merely an organized assembly of malcontents, and enemies of the Government.

Meanwhile the war that had just broken out in the north, on which our enemies had built their hopes, and which had alienated so many timid Councillors of State and officials from us and from French interests, was not turning out according to their expectations. A campaign of a few days, the most prodigious successes, a victory on the field of Jena which annihilated the power of Prussia; events so extraordinary and so unexpected, of which we heard in such rapid succession that at first the

reports were received with incredulity, produced such a transformation that our discouragement was replaced by confidence.

Our former adherents returned to us; our enemies became divided among themselves; the bands that infested the province of Lavore were pursued and defeated; the island of Sora, an important position at the extremity of Lavore, was recovered from the bandit chief Fra Diavolo, who had seized upon it, and shortly afterwards he himself was captured. This fortunate train of circumstances gave fresh vigour to the Government, and though peace was not yet made, although there was still some danger of war with Russia, and the disturbances in Calabria were far from being quelled, yet the course of affairs became smoother. A few desirable administrative rules were debated and carried; in short, the year 1806 came to a close under auspices sufficiently favourable to encourage the hope that we should be able to consolidate the new Government during the succeeding year.

Our greatest difficulty was the state of the finances. At the beginning of 1807, we were four millions of ducats in arrears;* the needs of the State amounted to 1,200,000 ducats per month, and our income barely reached to 600,000. As it

* Seventeen million of francs (£680,000), reckoning the ducat at four francs, twenty-five centimes.

was impossible to supply these urgent needs from ordinary sources, the King resolved on sending General Cesar Berthier to the Emperor, to ask for a loan, and for a grant of a million per month, for the purpose of supplying part of the pay of the French army of occupation. At the same time that this measure was resorted to, another which had been some months in contemplation—that of suppressing a certain number of the monasteries—was carried out, and I must pause here for a moment, to explain the principles on which we acted in this latter operation which was both political and financial.

The question was discussed in two private councils, held respectively on the 6th and the 17th of February, 1808. The Duke de Cassano, Minister for Ecclesiastical affairs, made a lengthy statement, in which he proposed the reform of three hundred and twenty-two convents, the revenues of which amounted to 444,000 ducats (about two million francs, £80,000), the monks, whose houses were to be suppressed to be removed to those monasteries that remained. But in the draft of the decree he had inserted two articles, one of which restored to several orders the right of receiving novices and of admitting to profession, and the other held out hopes of the same favour to those orders not included in the first provision, if by their behaviour and submission, they

showed themselves worthy of it. The whole thing, therefore, was reduced to a transaction, by which a tax was levied on the monks, and their existence was, as it were, confirmed afresh, as the price of the sacrifices imposed on them at the moment.

By this cunning evasion, M. de Cassano conciliated the views of the clergy, and particularly those of their head, the Archbishop of Tarento, who was alarmed at the blow that threatened the monkish militia. On the other hand, nothing could be more opposed to the interests of the King, and to public opinion. I raised my voice in protestation; for such a transaction, in my opinion, involved a greater danger than would have resulted from total suppression.

“If,” said I, “the state of our finances allowed us to dispense with the help that will be afforded by the sale of the monastic property, I should not hesitate to propose that we should postpone any action, whether favourable or unfavourable to the continued existence of the religious orders, and trust to time and experience for riper counsels. But time presses, an empty treasury needs an extraordinary remedy, and I know of none so practicable as this. Therefore, we must have recourse to it, and take some action, or we perish. Compelled, as we are, by necessity, it seems to me better to strike one decisive and immediate blow, than to take hesitating half-

measures. To reform a certain number of monasteries, to apply a portion of the revenues, or of the capital of the suppressed houses, to the public necessities, will excite, you may depend on it, as much discontent among the clergy, as the entire suppression of all, without gaining for the Government the support that would be obtained from sensible men, if the latter course were adopted. If, as I apprehend, the Council throws out M. de Cassano's proposal in favour of novices and professed subjects, there is no probability that the device of suppressing a certain number of houses only will satisfy even those who are most easily satisfied. They will perceive that the decree gives them no guarantee for either their individual existence or for that of their order, and they will all perfectly understand that they have merely obtained a respite.

“This will greatly endanger the security of the State. The monks, full of resentment, that will be daily increased by the recollection of the past, and by regret for wealth that they have lost, will create hosts of enemies for us in the confessional. They will communicate to their docile penitents their own dislike of a Government that has used them hardly, and which leaves even their present reduced condition in a state of uncertainty, and subject to the chances of further spoliation !

“On the other hypothesis, that of complete suppression, the discontent will be equal; greater, if you will; but impotent. The monks will not only be stricken, but scattered. In private life, to which they must return, it will be easier to watch them, and if they seek to injure the Government, their influence will be less formidable, because it will be only personal, and they can be quietly removed without the need of publicity, which tells upon the populace, by exciting the kind of interest always aroused by persecution, real or imaginary. Lastly, there will certainly be some few monks to whom the restoration of their liberty, through the suppression of the religious orders, will be agreeable, and these we shall have for friends rather than for enemies.

“Thus, the political danger is less, the execution is more easy, the results greater; the Government will gain strength by manifesting firmness and boldness, and by giving the semblance of a State measure to a financial operation. This is an advantage that ought never to be neglected, when it is of possible attainment.”

My arguments were approved by part of the Council; but the question was adjourned, and we separated without having come to any decision.

A few days later there was another meeting of the Council, and the proposed decree against the

monks was again brought forward. The propositions of the Duke de Cassano were negatived, and after a long discussion it was agreed that total suppression should be decreed only against the orders which followed the rules of St. Benedict and St. Bernard as being those whose wealth would more abundantly replenish the exhausted treasury. Pensions were granted to the monks of the suppressed houses, and all had the option of joining the ranks of the secular clergy. This mode of action, preferable to that which had been proposed at first, had the advantage of lopping off entirely the two principal branches of the tree, and made the extirpation of the root more easy when the time for effecting it should come. In vain I opposed a certain provision of the new law by which the mendicant orders were invited to assume the posts of teachers in the elementary schools. Not only did the King fail to support my views, but he adopted a contrary view, and this difference of opinion brought about a sharp altercation between us. The provision in question seemed to me particularly offensive, especially when contained in an act which suppressed the learned orders, to whom science is under such great obligations. Moreover, the King's action in the matter was taken less from personal conviction than from suggestions emanating, at the time of which I speak, from Paris.

There was just then in France a marked animosity against what was called philosophy or liberalism, and an official fury against Rousseau, Voltaire, and the writers of the preceding century who had distinguished themselves by the independence or freedom of their opinions; and as the papers in which they were attacked exclusively enjoyed the favour of the Government, they increased in number, and their influence under such protection could not fail to extend even to us. A settled intention to restore the former prejudices, the old errors, and all the dependence born of ignorance was manifest. "But," people would say to me, "it is impossible to deny that abuse and unseasonable application of principles drawn from the books that you defend, dragged us into an abyss of evil from which even now we are barely emerging."

“I admit it,” I replied, “but are we to blame the principles themselves? Are we, in order to govern, and to maintain peace throughout society, to plunge mankind into darkness once more? Must we necessarily impose silence on our reason in order to ensure tranquillity. I will never believe it; the use of man’s noblest attribute can never be inimical to his happiness. Consider, besides, though this retrograde doctrine may for the moment confirm the empire of him who governs France and almost governs Europe, what will it do in the future? Does it not clearly tend

to place France once more under the dominion of her former masters? Does it not awaken regret at every instant in the hearts of those who contributed to the great changes that have taken place? Does it not lead to giving glory and honour to those only who defended the old Monarchy of the Bourbons and who shed their blood for them? And if the strength of him, for whom alone the writers of the day make any exception, retards for awhile the consequences of this teaching, there is nothing to guarantee his successors against its daily increasing influence. The edifice raised by his genius at so great a cost will crumble away at his death, because its foundations, which were laid in the Revolution, are constantly shaken and undermined by the condemnation of that Revolution, and of the opinions which produced it.

“These consequences certainly do not escape the piercing glance of the Emperor; but they apparently alarm him but little. I fear that he takes more pleasure in the thought of the posthumous glory he would acquire by the ruin and the evils that would follow on his death, than in that of the repose and happiness he could confer on France by moderation and deference to liberal opinions; that he is more anxious to be admired by posterity as an extraordinary man, the only one who could conceive and maintain so stupendous a fabric, than to be

blessed as the founder of one less brilliant but more lasting."

By arguments such as these, I endeavoured, in a conversation with the King on the 18th of February, to defend my opposition to the measure which entrusted the education of the young to the mendicant orders. Without disputing the justice of my remarks, the King thought me too extreme in my opinions and accused me of looking at the gloomy side of everything. The result, however, has proved that I was right.

Nevertheless, whether my remarks made some impression, or whether he felt the necessity of removing the Duke de Cassano, who, although he possessed many private virtues, was a dangerous counsellor because of his leaning in favour of priests in general, the King suddenly, and to the surprise of every one, made great changes in his Cabinet. The Ministry of Public Worship was abolished, and the Duke de Cassano was made Grand Huntsman; General Dumas left the Ministry of War, which, strangely enough, was joined to that of Police, and M. Salicetti thus found himself at the head of the two most important departments. General Dumas received the post of Grand Marshal of the Palace. The place of Master of the King's Household, which had been given to the Duke de Campo-Chiaro, was abolished, and the duties relating to the Fine Arts and the Royal Manufactories, which appertained to

it, were relegated to me in my capacity of Minister of the Interior. The other duties of the post, which related exclusively to the expenses of the King's household, and the administration of the Crown property, were confided to State Councillor M. Macedonio, who received the title of General Steward of the Household. The Duke de Campo-Chiaro was made ambassador to Holland. M. Roederer retained Finance, and Prince Pignatelli-Cerchiara the Navy; the latter was also entrusted with Public Worship, and consequently with the execution of the law for the suppression of some of the religious orders.

But only a few weeks after these arrangements, which were made Public on the 15th of April, 1807, had been concluded, the King seemed to repent the mark of confidence he had bestowed on Salicetti and sent for me early in the morning on the 11th of May. Serious complaints had been made to him of the Commissary of Police at Castellamare, a creature of the Minister's, and turning his displeasure against the patron of this man, the King wanted to dismiss M. Salicetti from Naples. Although his anger was righteous and that I could but approve it, I opposed with all my might the step that the King purposed to take. It appeared to me that it would place him in an unfavourable light. To bestow on a man the most striking mark of confidence, to entrust him to two State depart-

ments, and on the following day to take both away from him, without being able to explain the cause of so sudden a disgrace, must have seemed mere caprice and inconsistency in the eyes of the public. I laid this before the King and succeeded in appeasing him. I should not have recommended Salicetti for posts of such importance had my opinion been asked beforehand, but now that they had been conferred on him, it seemed to me more objectionable to take them suddenly away, than to let him retain them, more especially as it was impossible to deny that he had the necessary abilities for the suitable discharge of both orders of duties. Things remained therefore as they were. I may even say that from this time, the Government assumed a firmer attitude. The finances improved under M. Rœderer, and a grant of 500,000 francs (£20,000) per month from the Emperor to assist in paying the French troops, rendered the condition of the Treasury less precarious. Affairs in Calabria also were less gloomy ; in the latter part of May, General Regnier defeated an army corps of Sicilian troops, under the command of General the Prince of Hesse-Philippsthal, and as a consequence of this success re-entered Reggio. Lastly, the Emperor's victories in the North, the reduction of Dantzic, the battle of Friedland, gained by us, and the peace of Tilsit, by which the negotiations opened after that battle were concluded, contributed greatly

to the improvement of our position. We had scarcely anything to fear from open attack, the English and Sicilian troops seemed to have left off harassing us, and although, while open warfare had been given up, secret enmity was more active than ever, and Queen Caroline's agents travelled through the provinces, endeavouring to incite them to revolt, the tranquillity of the capital and of the principal towns in the kingdom was not seriously disturbed. The police having arrested some important persons involved in a conspiracy which was to be carried into execution on the feast of Corpus Christi, the ceremonies and procession at which the King was present in great pomp, passed in perfect quiet. A popular tumult at Naples on the 1st of June, on the occasion of the execution of two men who had been condemned to death, lasted but a moment, and was quelled all the more easily that it was in no wise a political movement, but was caused by the absence of the usual military precautions on such occasions; these the commandant of the place had omitted to take.

Thus, towards the middle of 1807, the country was, on the whole, quiet and submissive. Several journeys successively made by the King in the provinces of Lecce and the Abruzzi, the prudence of his conduct on those occasions, his righteous severity towards some officials of whom well-founded

complaints had been made to him during his progress, his affability of manner, and, above all, the strict justice with which he acted in all administrative measures, obtained for him, if not real regard, at least the esteem and respect of the inhabitants among whom he travelled.

This improvement in the state of affairs, and the more favourable attitude of the people, who were now beginning to be reconciled to the new order of things, enabled the King to turn his thoughts, on his return to Naples, to the encouragement of the arts and sciences, and especially to the embellishment of the capital. My labours were increased, but became very pleasant. The public works, the special schools of painting and architecture, the libraries and museums that were under my charge, gave me frequent opportunities of indulging my tastes for the various branches of human knowledge that I had endeavoured to cultivate. I was enabled to assist some artists, and to promote the wishes of scientific and distinguished men, who are to be found in far greater numbers at Naples than is generally believed. The streets and the beautiful promenades of the capital were thoroughly repaired. A new road to Capo di Monte, leading from thence to the high road from Rome to Naples was opened and made practicable. The King passed over it for the first time on the 15th of August, 1807, the fête day of the Emperor,

which was marked both by the inauguration of the new road,* and by the celebration of the peace of Tilsit, of which we had been informed a few days before.

* The following inscription was placed at the entrance of a tunnel that had been opened in the mountain in order to afford a passage for the road. This tunnel had been pierced with great difficulty.

JOSEPHUS NAPOLEO
 Rex utriusque Siciliæ
 quâ novus ad mediam urbem
 à Galliâ pateret aditus
 viam
 magnitudine operis usque intentatam
 quâ depresso quâ effosso monte
 fecit
 eamque auspicatissimâ die
 quum magni Napoleonis
 Galliarum Imperatoris Italiæ Regis
 armis et virtute
 pax gentibus data
 publicis ludis celebraretur
 De augusti fratris nomine
 Napoleoniam nuncupavit
 Postridie Idibus Sextilis A. C1807
 Regni sui II.

CHAPTER VII.

The solemnity of the miracle of St. Januarius—King Joseph being summoned to an interview with Napoleon at Venice proceeds thither and learns that the Emperor intends him for the throne of Spain—Joseph agrees to his brother's project—Attempted assassination of Salicetti the Minister of Police—The island of Corfu is revictualled by a squadron under Admiral Ganteaume—Sensation produced at Naples by the display of a French Naval force—Arrival of Queen Julia—The King sets out to join the Emperor at Bayonne—Before relinquishing the throne of Naples, he institutes a new order of Knighthood, instead of that of St. Januarius, founds a Royal Society of Science and Literature, and gives a Constitutional Statute to the Kingdom—Joseph abdicates the throne of Naples, to which the Grand Duke of Berg is raised by the Emperor, under the name of Joachim Napoleon—The author leaves Naples to follow King Joseph to Spain—He stays in Rome, where the rupture between Napoleon and the Pope is the cause of hostile measures—At Lyons he meets King Murat on his way to take possession of the throne of Naples—Melancholy account given by that prince of the state of affairs in Spain—He at last joins King Joseph at Miranda de Ebro—Appendix: Letter from Rome on the rupture between the Pope and the Emperor—Secret instructions given by the Holy See.

I BECAME more exclusively occupied than ever with those duties - which I found such pleasure in dis-

charging, and I looked upon the short interval in which I exercised them as one of the happiest periods of my life. I gave myself up to them entirely, and found no difficulty in doing so. I visited again with revived interest all the works of art and the national establishments, not for the purpose of satisfying an idle curiosity, but with the desire and the hope of contributing to their maintenance and improvement. I cannot, however, record, in this place, the result of my observation of the manners and genius of the people. My stay at Naples was too brief to enable me to do so with success; moreover the political changes that have since taken place in the country would render them at the present time both valueless and obsolete. But I must not omit all description of the celebrated miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, at which I was officially present in my capacity of Minister of the Interior, and in that of head of the municipal administration of Naples.

The miracle usually takes place during the octave of the Saint's feast, which occurs on September 17. In 1807 it took place on the 24th of the month.* I was received in an apartment of the Archiepiscopal palace, where I found the President and the members of the Naples Senate, as the municipal body is designated, and attended by this retinue, I proceeded to

* The miracle is repeated also in May and December.

the magnificent chapel of St. Januarius, which forms part of the Metropolitan Church.* We took our places on the altar-steps in a sort of enclosure, divided by a balustrade from the rest of the chapel, which was crowded with people, and especially with women. Immediately afterwards the ceremony commenced.

A deep recess in the wall behind the altar contains the relics of St. Januarius; these consist of a silver-gilt shrine, shaped like a bust, in which are placed the skull-bones of the saint, and of a kind of remonstrance also of silver gilt, in which is set, between two crystals, a vial, containing a red substance asserted to be coagulated blood, collected, according to tradition, when the Saint suffered martyrdom by decapitation, and which certainly has all the appearance of blood. The closed recess is secured by three locks. The keys are deposited with the various civil and religious authorities. The President of the Senate keeps one, the Dean of the Chapter another, and the third is, I believe, in the custody of the Archbishop of Naples, or, in his absence, in that of the Grand Vicar. On the recess being opened, a surpliced Canon brought out first the remonstrance, and after showing to the people that the substance it contained was coagulated, and saying aloud—*Il sangue è duro*, he

* This church, like many others in Italy, is better known as the Duomo.

placed the relic on a silver pedestal, ready prepared for it on the Epistle side of the altar. He then brought out the bust of the saint, and placed it on another pedestal on the Gospel side. The bust was stripped of some simple decorations in the shape of a mitre and a sort of cope in common material, and others were substituted of the same kind, but much more magnificent, embroidered in gold and silver and adorned with precious stones. A splendid golden collar was hung round the neck. This had been presented by the new King to the Chapel of St. Januarius. Lastly, two bouquets of roses were fastened, one on each side of the breast.

This ceremony being completed, the officiating Canon advanced to the Epistle side, took up the remonstrance containing the vial and turned it towards the shrine of the Saint, without, however, bringing the two in contact. It is at that moment and in consequence of that proximity, that the blood ought to liquefy and the miracle be accomplished. But as the prodigy does not occur instantaneously, the hour is noted at which these two sets of relics are brought together, and fatal or favourable inductions are made according to the greater or less interval before the liquefaction takes place. During this time Litanies are sung by the choir, in which those present join, while the women implore the Saint to work the miracle.

Meanwhile the priest who holds the remonstrance moves it from time to time, pausing to see whether any change is taking place, and if he perceives none, he advances towards the people, and showing them the relic, he repeats sadly *È duro*. I remarked that he did this three different times without success, and that each time prayers recommenced with redoubled fervour. At length, the fourth time, after a pause of sixteen minutes, the miracle took place. I was near the Canon, and I perceived the substance begin to detach itself from the sides of the glass, then slowly drop, and spread so as to fill a greater space, *i.e.* nearly the whole bottle, which appears half empty when the matter it contains is in a solid form.

At the moment of the miracle, tears, sighs, and sobs succeeded to the cries of those present. I remarked women, who during the ceremony had been in a sort of convulsive delirium, burst into tears and throw themselves on their knees with every sign of devotion; others cast themselves on the ground and struck the pavement with their foreheads; each one, in short, expressed in her own way the reverence which she felt. Many of those present kissed the remonstrance which the officiating priest held out to them for that purpose, after which he put it back on its pedestal, where it remained exposed for the rest of the day.

While I was dividing my time between the duties

of my post and the study of the customs of the country, and at the very moment that a happy future seemed awaiting me, events taking place at a long distance were destined to remove me from occupations that I cherished, and to cast me once more into the midst of trouble and disturbance. Towards the end of November, the King received a letter from the Emperor telling him he wished to see him at Venice, whither he intended to proceed on the 2nd of December. The King set out on the 28th of November, and the interview that followed altered his whole destiny. After the Peace of Tilsit, the Emperor, having reached the utmost height of power, and having contracted engagements with the Emperor Alexander, his admirer and emulator, the actual purpose of which was the division of the world between those two potentates, turned his thoughts towards Spain, where the endeavours of the Prince of the Asturias to overthrow the Prince of the Peace, and the dissensions in the Royal family, furnished a favourable opportunity for the furtherance of the plans that had been arranged on the Niemen. He unfolded these gigantic projects to his brother and admitted him to a participation in them. He represented the throne of Charles V. as more noble and more important than that of Naples. Spain was the second monarchy in Europe, now that France had taken the first rank; could he let it fall into other hands? The Emperor

of Russia had already agreed, and Napoleon advised his brother to send a confidential agent to St. Petersburg, as the bearer of friendly messages, and thus to inaugurate an alliance which their common interests would soon cement. So dazzling a prospect, designs so vast, the apparent glory that would be attained by participating in them, their almost infallible success, could not fail to fascinate Joseph and set fire to his ambition. Moreover, it would have been no easy task for him to resist a will so strong as that of the Emperor. He yielded, therefore; and the arrangements which in the following year were carried out in Spain, and whose fatal consequences gave the first blow to the marvellous prosperity that was astonishing the world, were agreed upon at Venice. After despatching Colonel Marie, one of his aides-de-camp, to Russia, where he was received with great honour, the King returned to Naples, and from that time looked upon himself as only a temporary occupant of the Two Sicilies. But as the utmost secrecy was to be preserved until the moment of executing the new projects, he announced the approaching arrival of the Queen, his wife, in order to baffle any suspicions to which the interview at Venice might have given rise.

Such was our position in Naples at the close of 1807. I was informed by the King, in confidence, of the impending change; and, although I resolved

on accompanying him to the country over which he was soon to be called upon to reign, I could not without deep regret give up all the plans I had formed, and the hopes I had conceived for the improvement of the institutions that we had founded. Yet, although my zeal was cooled, it was not utterly extinguished. Above all, I felt it incumbent on me to leave proofs of the efforts we had made, in the midst of all kinds of difficulty, to improve the administration of the kingdom of Naples. It was principally with this view that I drew up an account of the situation of the country, and presented it to the King on the 28th of March, 1808. I think this authentic document ought to suffice to clear the reign of Joseph Napoleon from the unjust aspersions of certain travellers, who have too readily believed the lying assertions of his enemies, and those especially of the Archbishop of Tarento (Capocelatre), a clever man, but not a first-rate administrator, who could not forgive us the suppression of the monasteries.

I will not dilate on this subject, but will resume my narrative of the events that took place between the King's return from Venice and his departure from Naples. The most noteworthy event of that period was the attempted assassination of M. Salicetti.

On the 31st of January, 1808, I was awoke very early with the news that part of the house occupied by the Minister of Police had fallen down in the night.

I thought at first, that it was a mere accident occasioned by faulty construction, or the omission of needful repairs after the last earthquake, which had injured some of the buildings in the town. But a report soon got about that the house had been blown up by an explosion. I repaired to the scene with M. Røderer, and on making an examination of the ruins, I could no longer doubt that they were the result of a subterranean explosion. The following are the particulars.

M. Salicetti returned home an hour after midnight. He had scarcely entered his room, when he felt a sudden movement and heard the fall of part of his house. He thought at first that both were the result of an earthquake. He hastened to the apartment of his daughter, recently married to the Duke of Laviello; but the three stories of the wing in which she resided were already on the ground. He heard the duchess's voice, and in rushing towards her received severe contusions on his head and legs. At length, with the help of some servants, he succeeded in extricating her from beneath five or six feet of rubbish, under which she had been buried for more than a quarter of an hour. By a strange chance, her husband, who was beside her, was flung from his bed, and found himself, unhurt, in the middle of the courtyard.

A committee appointed by the King, and con-

sisting of General Campredon, commanding the Engineers, General Dedon, Commandant of Artillery, and three architects, was directed to inquire into and to report on the causes of the catastrophe. Their report proved beyond all doubt that it was to be attributed to the explosion of a considerable quantity of compressed gunpowder. Fuses were found, and cords, and a kind of wicker basket which had contained the powder; and from the indications it was concluded that the authors of the crime had employed one of the machines contained in boats called *catamarans* which the English had made use of before Boulogne. We learned afterwards that the machine had been brought from Sicily in a barque that had put in at Chiaja, opposite Salicetti's house, and that it had been deposited in a cellar belonging to a Neapolitan apothecary who had formerly lodged in a room of that house and who was allowed the privilege of retaining it. This man's sons had been implicated in the conspiracy that was to have taken effect on Corpus Christi in the preceding year, and it was probably they who contrived that the machine should be placed under the house. After setting fire to a slow match, the criminals had had time to escape to their boat and to make off.* Other things which

* These various facts were proved at the trial which was only concluded in the beginning of June. The apothecary,

came out by degrees proved the facts so clearly, that many persons who at first had insinuated that the occurrence was a mere accident, and that the Minister, to increase his own importance, had represented it as the result of a conspiracy, were forced to relinquish that malicious interpretation.

In the course of the day I saw M. Salicetti, who informed me that the attempt to which he had so nearly fallen a victim, was to be attributed to causes still more serious than had been supposed. The island of Capri, since it had fallen into the hands of the English, was the headquarters of emissaries sent out from Sicily. On that island plots were concocted with a more important purpose than mere revenge against an individual, whose death would be of too little importance to be the only object of the conspiracy. He believed that he now held the clue to a much vaster plan, of which the catastrophe of the past night was but a very small part. A portion of the design of these secret enemies was to get possession of Fort St. Elmo, and by so doing to create a great commotion. Even if the disturbance produced no definite political result, it would at least afford an opportunity of gratifying

whose name was Viscardi, and his son, agents of Queen Caroline, were proved to be the perpetrators of the crime. The judgment, which was pronounced on June 10, condemned six of their accomplices to death.

both private animosities, and Queen Caroline's hatred of the French, which was only to be slaked with their blood.

There was no exaggeration in this alarm, and plots of a similar nature to that which had just failed were formed from time to time. But they were all abortive. The danger which M. Salicetti had incurred, served as a warning against those that threatened the palace and even the person of the King. Precautionary measures were taken, and a few acts of severity put an end to these evil projects.

In the beginning of March, 1808, the arrival of a French squadron in the Adriatic, and the Emperor's designs on the Ionian Islands, served to divert our thoughts from the alarm caused by the machinations of our enemies. The squadron, under the command of Admiral Ganteaume, brought provisions to Corfu, and also the means of putting the island into a state of defence. This successful expedition, in which the French Admiral displayed great skill in eluding the vigilance of the English, created an immense sensation in the kingdom of Naples by the unexpected display of a naval force that no one suspected us of possessing, and produced a greater effect than four victories on the Continent. Our successes on land were so unvarying that they no longer made any impression. The Emperor attached much importance to the possession of Corfu, and

wrote in the following remarkable terms to his brother. "Remember that, in the present state of Europe, the possession of Corfu is of the highest importance to me, and that its loss would strike a mortal and irreparable blow at my designs." Those designs, which were comprised in the secret project agreed on between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, were admirably assisted by King Joseph's active participation in the revictualling of the island by way of Tarento and Otranto.

Shortly after these events, the Queen, who had left Paris on the 13th of March, 1808, arrived on the 3rd of April, at Naples. Her presence, like the appearance of the French ships in the Ionian Sea, produced a beneficial influence on the public mind. It was regarded as a pledge of safety for the future, and those among the Neapolitans who had attached themselves to the new sovereign, imagined themselves for ever screened from the vengeance of the party which they had forsaken to associate themselves with ours. The Queen, too, by her very dignified behaviour, her prudence and her affability towards the ladies of the highest families who eagerly sought for the honour of belonging to her Court, won universal esteem and affection. The commencement of this new reign was looked upon with pleasure: the prejudices at first entertained against us, were beginning to fade away, and a few inter-marriages

that took place, brought about a better feeling between the two nations.

I was not destined long to enjoy the advantages conferred by this new state of things on those who, like myself, were attached to the fortunes of King Joseph. Events were hurrying on in Spain; the Emperor was preparing to set out for Bayonne, and every moment we expected a summons for his brother to join him at that place. We had not to wait long. On the 21st of May the King received letters from the Emperor, urging his immediate departure. He directed him to leave the command of the army with Marshal Jourdan,* and to appoint a regency. But the latter instructions were not carried out: the King would by no means give up supreme authority, nor quit the throne of Naples, before he was put in possession of that of Spain. No Council was appointed therefore, and the Ministers continued to attend separately to the duties of their departments, and to submit their business to the King by letter. The progress of affairs was not accelerated by this extraordinary state of things, but it lasted so short a time that the inconvenience resulting from it was hardly perceptible.

* It was about a year since Marshal Jourdan had been sent to Naples as Governor of the town. Marshal Massena had returned to France, and General Regnier had succeeded to the command of the troops in Calabria.

The King left Naples on the 24th of May, and his departure occasioned something like consternation. Although he had given it to be understood that he had only gone to have a second interview with the Emperor, and that he would return almost immediately, no one was deceived; and from that moment, more anxiety was felt regarding his successor, and the means of propitiating him, than about the King whom the Neapolitans were losing. However, as Joseph had reserved the exercise of power to himself, and that favours might still be expected from him, they did not display utter indifference, and he might have imagined himself regretted.

Some time before his departure he had carried out his intention of founding a new order of Knighthood, instead of that of St. Januarius, which he had abolished, but the nominations to it had not yet been made. He despatched these from Bayonne, whither he had arrived on the 7th of June. He had also founded, in imitation of the Institute of France, a Royal Society of Science and Literature which I was directed to inaugurate. He had designated the most distinguished men of the Kingdom for the principal chairs of the Academies into which the Society was divided, and his selection was generally approved. Lastly, before relinquishing the throne of Naples, he gave the kingdom a charter, or constitution, the provisions of which were to regulate the future administration

of the country. This reached Naples on the 1st of July. An extraordinary Council of State was convened to hear it read, and to register it as a law of the State. The meeting took place on the 2nd of July. I and the other Ministers were present, the Minister of Justice presided. A letter from the King to the Council of State in which he expressed his regret at having been unable to consult the Council on the draft of the Constitution that he was giving to the Nation, was first laid before us. But he affirmed that they would find in the draft only the application of principles he had often expressed in their presence, and to which all the members of the Council had already given their assent. The Act was then read aloud.

This "Constitutional Statute," as the Act was designated, was partly based upon the Constitutional system of France and partly upon that of Italy, but more particularly upon the latter, and the few alterations that had been made were in no way favourable to liberal ideas. The hand of the Emperor, under whose influence it had been drawn up, was apparent in every line. His increasing leaning towards feudal institutions, the aversion he no longer sought to disguise towards everything that could strengthen the liberty of the people, and the political independence of citizens, were plainly perceptible. National representation, as organised by

the Constitutional Statute of Naples, was even more vitiated and illusory than in the two systems from which it had been borrowed. It consisted in one Chamber divided into five sections: the clergy, the nobility, the landowners, men of science and merchants. These sections were equal as to number but they were far from having equal rights. The deputies from the nobility, the clergy and the learned bodies were irremovable, while the deputies from the two other classes, the landowners and merchants were removable. However, as not the slightest attempt was made in the ensuing reign to carry out this improvised Constitution, it is unnecessary to enter into further particulars concerning it. I thought it well to say a few words on the subject, as it was an indication of the political principles adopted by the Emperor, and carried out by him everywhere within the limits of his power. The concession of a charter, on which the King had reckoned in order to gain the gratitude of the Neapolitan nation, failed altogether to produce that effect.

It benefited nobody, and, as it is well known that heirs seldom show much respect to the wills of those from whom they derive their inheritance, this Act was in general regarded as a piece of political bombast, uttered with a view to effect, and from which neither good nor evil was to be expected.

Thus, laying aside political theories, the people devoted themselves to two objects only: one making the most of the kind-heartedness of the King who was leaving them, to obtain from him favours that he still had the power to grant, the other, the discovering as soon as possible who was to be his successor, in order to conciliate him in his turn. It had been officially notified on the 20th of July, that King Joseph had abdicated the crown of Naples on the 8th of that month, and Queen Julia had set out for France, even before the intelligence reached Naples. But it was not immediately known who was to be Joseph's successor. Rumours of the most extraordinary kind were in circulation. It was affirmed that Murat, who appeared the most probable candidate, was in a state of mental derangement that rendered him incapable of reigning. It was said that the Imperial family was divided and at variance on the question: that the Empress wanted the crown of Naples for her son Eugene, and that the King of Westphalia laid claim to it, as being more illustrious than his own. It was added that the Emperor's mother had asked for the throne of Naples for Lucien, the only one of her sons who had not yet obtained a crown.

All uncertainty was terminated on the 31st of July, by the arrival of a courier, who had been impatiently expected for several days. A Ministerial Council assembled on the same day at eight in the evening,

under the presidency of the Minister of Justice. The following documents were read aloud.

1. A Constitutional Statute by which the Emperor bestowed the Kingdom of Naples on the Grand Duke of Berg, and regulated the succession in the order of primogeniture, with, however, one remarkable provision : the Queen (Caroline Bonaparte, sister to the Emperor) was to ascend the throne, and reign in her own right, if she survived her husband and her male children.

2. A proclamation from the new King, who would take possession of the kingdom on the 1st of August.

3. A letter from King Joachim Napoleon to the Ministers, confirming them in their posts.

A *Te Deum*, illuminations, and salvoes of artillery were ordered for the next day, according to custom.

This Council was the last occasion on which I exercised the public duties of my post at Naples. I had resolved on following the fortunes of King Joseph, who had offered me the place of Superintendent of his household, and I accordingly sent in my resignation as Minister of the Interior, and prepared to set out for Spain.*

I began my journey on the 11th of August, 1808, a

* On leaving Naples, the King had conferred on me the title of Count of Melito, which the Emperor confirmed by letters patent, which were despatched to me, in order to raise me to the dignity of Count of the Empire.

few days after the marriage of my daughter to Colonel Jamin, in command of the King's Light Cavalry. He was to join us in Spain at the head of part of these troops, which in the sequel, passed over to the service of Joseph as King of Spain. Some regret was expressed at my departure, but probably with more politeness than sincerity. I remained in Rome a few days. I again explored the city, and made some excursions in the environs, among others, one to Tivoli, which I had not visited on previous occasions. I saw General Miollis, in command of the French troops; his position was every day becoming more difficult, on account of the rupture that had just occurred between the Emperor and the Holy See. This quarrel was followed by the union of the provinces of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata and Camerina,* to the kingdom of Italy, and the Pope, having in

* The decree declaring the above union bears date St. Cloud, April 2, 1808. The preamble is remarkable, and I insert it here, because I believe it has never been published.

“Napoleon, etc., considering that the temporal Sovereign of Rome has constantly refused to make war on the English, and to ally himself with the Kings of Italy and Naples for the defence of the Italian peninsular;

“Considering that the interests of the two kingdoms and of the armies of Italy and Naples require that communications between them should not be intercepted by a hostile power;

“Considering that the gift of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the lands which form the Papal States was made for the good of Christendom and never for the advantage of the enemies of religion;

retaliation declared several articles of the Civil Code* to be incompatible with the Canons of the Roman Church, and forbidden all Catholics to receive them, ended by excommunicating the Emperor himself. The animosity and irritation of these two Powers had reached the highest pitch. It was easy, therefore, even now to foresee the violence with which Napoleon a short time afterwards treated the Pontiff, whom he forced to leave Rome and remove to Savona. From this period began the embarrassment and the difficulties brought on the Emperor by the Concordat of 1802. By forcing the Pope to come and consecrate him in Paris, he had by no means obtained a religious guarantee for his crown; but, on the contrary, had restored to the Holy See a portion of its former rights over princes, and had authorised the renewal of its claims. No prince, certainly, was

“Seeing that the ambassador from the Court of Rome asked for his passports, on the 8th March last;

“We have decreed and do decree, etc.”

A decree of the same date had ordered all cardinals, prelates, officials and employés of all kinds at the court of Rome, natives of the countries included in the kingdom of Italy, to return to that Kingdom on the 25th of May next following, and in the event of their disobedience, it declared the confiscation of their goods and property.

* See in the Appendix to this chapter, No 1, a rather curious letter written to me on the subject from Rome, dated June 7, 1808, and No. 2, the secret instructions given to the subjects of the provinces united to Italy, by the decree of April 2.

better adapted by character and boldness to force his yoke on a Pope than Napoleon; and nevertheless Pius VII. was his most terrible adversary and was not conquered by him. The decadence of his empire dates from his quarrels with the Pontiff. The priests whom he had re-established in France did not hesitate for an instant between him and the Pope, and even in his own family, the kinsman who through him had been raised to the Cardinalate, declared against him.

I left my family at Rome: they could not follow me to Spain, until I had prepared an establishment for them, and I resumed my journey thither on the 17th of August. I made no halt except at Lyons, where I met the new King of Naples on his way to take possession of the crown that had just been conferred on him. In the course of a long conversation he gave me a very alarming account of the state of Spain, which he had just left. It was from him that I heard of the lost battle of Baylen, of the defeat and captivity of General Dupont, who was in command of the French army on that fatal day, and finally of the departure of King Joseph from Madrid, he having been forced to leave the capital. Judging from Murat's manner as he described all these things, I saw that he thought himself lucky to have escaped from Spain; and in truth, the change was a clear gain for him, while to his predecessor on the throne

of Naples and to all those who followed his fortunes it was a great loss. But it was too late for Joseph to retrace his steps, and all I could do was to arm myself with courage. After this interview therefore I continued my journey and reached Bayonne on the 1st of September, 1808. Being unable to proceed farther without an escort, I was compelled to wait until the General in command of the town had assembled a convoy intended for Vittoria. I travelled with it, and rejoined King Joseph at Miranda de Ebro on the 10th of September.

I had at last reached Spain, the theatre of the unfortunate events that struck a mortal blow at the fortune of Napoleon and the prosperity of France. As an eye-witness of these events, and having been admitted by the King's friendship to the knowledge of some of the causes or blunders that produced them, I must, to render my explanation clear, retrace my steps awhile, and give a rapid sketch of the occurrences that had taken place at Bayonne, and in Spain, since I parted from the King at Naples, until the moment when I saw him again. This narrative is an exact resumé of my conversations with the King, and with my friend Stanislas Girardin, who had accompanied him from Naples to Madrid.

APPENDIX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.



I.—A LETTER WRITTEN FROM ROME, CONCERNING CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON IN THE YEAR 1808.

ROME, JUNE 7TH, 1808.

YOUR Excellency will have noticed that in the note addressed by the Secretary of State to the Chargé d’Affaires in Italy, the Pope openly and unreservedly condemned several Articles of our Civil Code. Nor did his Holiness confine himself to this violent act, to which our enemies had not hitherto succeeded in urging him: he has just addressed a circular letter to the Bishops of the Marches, in which he solemnly declares that several provisions of the Code Napoleon, and particularly the laws relating to marriage and divorce, are contrary to the teachings of the Gospel, and that, consequently, they are not to act on them in their dioceses. This is a positive fact. I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of the circular, but I know that it bears the title of *Instructions for the Bishops* (Encyclica), although as yet it has only been sent to those of the Marches. It is drawn up in the form of the answers that in the early ages of the Church the Popes were accustomed to give to the Bishops, and that may be read at the present day in the collection of the Canon laws known under the name of Decretals. Thus his Holiness, by supposing himself to be interrogated on the point,

thinks to justify the silence he has hitherto kept concerning these alleged errors in the French legislation. The Pope has also renewed, in his own name, the Bulls of Clement XII. (Corsini) and Benedict XIV. (Lambertini). The bull I speak of must already be in print, and we are every day expecting its publication, which may perhaps produce an evil effect on the popular mind.

Concealment is at an end. The Pope believes that he will never be personally attacked. He thinks it glorious to stand alone in his resistance to the will of his Imperial Majesty, and he misses no occasion of displaying his resentment against him. The partizans of the clerical government make use of every possible means to excite the imaginations of the weak. "Spain" they say, "has rebelled; Russia and Austria are beginning to fall out with France; Ferdinand IV., in his quality as a Spanish prince, is proceeding to America, in order to take possession of the states belonging to Spain in the New World: he will be protected by the English, and even by the Republic of the United States. People want to overthrow the Catholic religion and destroy it; Rome will become a miserable and desolate city," &c.

Men of sense blame the Pope's conduct in this matter: it may bring down the greatest evils on mankind; but the people behold with gladness the persistence and obstinacy of the Holy Father, and listen greedily to all that is said for the purpose of deceiving them.

The crisis, there is no doubt, is terrible. But what are the French authorities doing? Scarcely anything. The General commanding-in-chief is afraid of compromising himself. He receives no orders from his Court, and has become more cautious than he was at first. A few seditious persons are arrested, but the police is out of order, or, to speak plainly, there is no police whatever. The tribunals do nothing, and all things here are in a state of anarchy, occasioned by a conflict between two rival and inimical powers.*

* M. Ortoli, the writer of the above letter, was a native of Corsica, where I had known him. He had studied at Pisa and at Rome, and was considered very learned in the Canon law.

II. SECRET INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE HOLY SEE TO THE SUBJECTS OF THOSE PROVINCES OF THE PAPAL STATES THAT WERE UNITED, BY AN IMPERIAL DECREE OF APRIL 2, 1808, TO THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

§ 1.—Non esser lecito, se mai venisse intimato dal governo intruso, di prestargli qualunque giuramento di fedeltà, d' obbedienza e di attaccamento espresso in termini illimitati e comprensivi di un fedeltà ed approvazione positiva, perchè sarebbe un giuramento d'infedeltà e fellonia al suo legittimo sovrano, opponendosi alle proteste ed ai reclami fatti dal Papa per se e per la Chiesa contro una sì notoria ingiustizia; un giuramento di grave scandalo, favorendo un fatto che tornar non può se non *in periculum fidei et perniciem animarum*; un giuramento per ogni verso ingiusto, iniquo e sacrilego.

§ 2.—Non esser nemmeno lecito di accettare, e molto peggio di esercitare impieghi ed incumbenze che abbiano una tendenza più o meno diretta a riconoscere, a coadiuvare, a consolidare il nuovo governo nell'esercizio dell'usurpata podestà, giacchè è evidente, non potersi ciò fare, senza prendervi parte e farsene attore volontario. Che se, di più tali impieghi ed incumbenze influessero direttamente all'esercizio di leggi ed ordinazioni contrarie ai principj ed alle leggi della Chiesa, molto più

§ 1.

It is not lawful, if ever exacted by the usurping government, to take an oath of fidelity, of obedience or of attachment, expressed in unreserved terms, implying positive fidelity and approbation, because such an oath would be one of infidelity and of felony to the legitimate sovereign, and would be in opposition to the protests and claims made by the Pope, both in his own behalf and in that of the Church, against so crying an injustice; it would be an oath giving grave scandal, as approving of an act which can only lead to *periculum fidei et perniciem animarum*; an oath in every way unjust, iniquitous, and sacrilegious.

§ 2.

It is unlawful for any one to receive, much more to discharge, the duties of any state or employment which would tend more or less directly to recognize, support or consolidate the new government in the exercise of the power it has usurped; for it is evident that this could not be done without participating voluntarily in that usurpation. And if such duties and employments included an obligation of co-operating in the execution of laws and regulations contrary to the principles and laws of the Church, it would be far more

colpevole ne sarebbe l' accettazione, essendo principio generale che non è lecito porsi e perseverare in uno stato quantunque necessario alla stessa sussistenza, incompatibile alla coscienza ed alla propria eterna salute.

§ 3.—Non esser lecito ai vescovi ed agli altri pastori ed ecclesiastici di prestarci al canto dell' inno *Te Deum*, se mai venisse prescritto nello stabilimento del governo invasatore. Oltre di chè non è di competenza della podestà laicale prescrivere di propria autorità pubbliche preghiere, in questo caso, all' incompetenza della podestà si unirebbe la manifesta incongruenza dell' oggetto che renderebbe un tal canto piuttosto insulto che un culto della religione, perciocchè essendo ogni canto spirituale, e l' ambrosiano specialmente, l' espressione del giubilo, ed essendo per ciò questo dalla Chiesa riservato alle grande solennità ed all' occasioni di pubblica allegrezza, il contarlo in questa occasione sarebbe un manifestare o un mentire con un atto pubblico e sacro, un sentimento affatto contrario a quello da qui esser debbono penetrati i buoni sudditi e figlj della Chiesa in un avvenimento funestissimo, preceduto, accompagnato e seguito da tante violenze ed ingiuste operazioni, quale sarà il rovesciamento temporale della Chiesa e l' intrusione di un governo tanto più a lei nemico in fatti quanto più affetto colle parole d' esserne protettore; in una parola, la rovina temporale e spirituale dello stato pontificio e lo scompiglio di tutta la Chiesa Cattolica.

culpable to accept and exercise them, for it is a general principle that it is not allowable to continue in a position, however necessary it may be for material existence, that is incompatible with conscience and eternal salvation.

§ 3.

It is not lawful for bishops and pastors and other ecclesiastics to consent to the singing of the *Te Deum*, if it should ever be ordered by the usurping government. In addition to the incompetency of the civil power to order public prayers by its own authority, there would be in such a case a manifest incongruity which would render the singing of that hymn rather an insult to religion than an act of piety, because all hymns and especially this one of St. Ambrose being an expression of joy, and being therefore reserved by the Church for great feasts and for occasions of public rejoicing, to sing it would be to make a show of feelings incompatible with those that should fill the hearts of the faithful subjects and children of the Church, under the present

§ 4.—Questa è la norma che S. S., dopo le più serie riflessioni ed il più maturo esame, ha creduto di dovere prescrivere ai suoi amatissimi sudditi, verificandosi, come pur troppo in sì gran parte si è verificata l'intrusione del governo usurpatore; la qual norma, sebene generale, non sarà difficile applicare ai casi particolari, che non si possono tutti prevedere. È da credere per altro, quanto ai giuramenti, che, avendo l'esperienza stessa mostrato le conseguenze funeste, eziandio alla pubblica tranquillità, che suol produrre la violenta esazione di essi, non sia questa per usarsi coi sudditi pontifici; onde non si abbiano a trovare nel pericoloso oimento, o, di mancare alla coscienza o d'incontrare gravi mali e pericoli.

§ 5.—Ma potrebbe essere anche il contrario. Potrebbe il nuovo governo colorire una sì fatta violenza col protesto della sua sicurezza e della quiete pubblica; nel qual caso può al medesimo soddisfarsi senza contravenire all'inconcussi principj di sopra stabiliti, con una formola che restringendosi alla fedeltà ed obbedienza passiva, ciò è di sottomissione e non opposizione,

evil circumstances that have been preceded, accompanied and followed by violence and injustice, such as the overthrow of the temporal power of the Church, and the usurpation of a government all the more inimical to it, that it pretends to be its protector; that aims, in a word, at the temporal and spiritual ruin of the Papal States and the overthrow of the whole Catholic Church.

§ 4.

Such are the instructions that His Holiness, after serious consideration and the most careful examination, has thought it his duty to deliver to his beloved subjects if the intrusion of the usurping government, already partly effected, becomes an accomplished fact. There will be no difficulty in applying these general rules to particular cases that it is impossible to specify beforehand. As regards the oaths, moreover, it is likely that experience having proved the evil effect, even as regards public tranquillity, of the violent extortion of such, coercion will not be used on this point towards the Pontifical subjects; who will not consequently find themselves under the dreadful alternative, of either disobeying their conscience or of exposing themselves to grave evils and dangers.

§ 5.

Nevertheless, the contrary might be the case. The new government, under pretext of ensuring its own security and the public tranquillity, might have recourse to violent measures. In that case it is allowable, and does not contravene the aforesaid principles, to accept a formula of fidelity and passive obedience, that is, of submission and not opposition by which to guarantee the

mentre garantisce la sicurezza e tranquillità pubblica, la quale, per i maggiori disordini e scandali che d' ordinario accadono, non è lecito ai privati di perturbare con fazioni e complotti non fa torto nè alla giustizia nè alla religione. Pertanto S. S. (riclamando però essa sempre i diritti della Chiesa romana e del glorioso principe degl' apostoli, e dichiarando altamente che la sua permissione alla sovranità ed alle ragioni che le competono) permette che i suoi sudditi ecclesiastici e secolari, qualora non possano esimersene senza grave pericolo e danno, prestino il giuramento nei seguenti termini: *Prometto e giuro di non aver parte in qualsivoglia congiura, complotto o sedizione contro il governo attuale, come pure di essergli sottomesso ed obbediente in tutto ciò che non sia contrario alla legge di Dio e della Chiesa.*" Se veramente il governo intruso non avrà altra fine che il succennato, non potrà non essere soddisfatto di questa formola. Se non sarà soddisfatto, con questo segno darà chiaramente a devidere essere la mente sua di legare ed obbligare i sudditi del Papa con la religione del giuramento e renderli così complici della sacrilega usurpazione, dalla qualmente verrebbe ad essere determinato il senso malvaggio della formola da lui proposta probabilmente in termini subdoli ed ambigui. Tanto più poi ciò farassi chiaro ed

public safety and tranquility; because it is not lawful for private citizens, by reason of the disorder and scandal it generally involves, to disturb that tranquillity by faction and conspiracy; a formula in short, neither injurious to justice nor to religion. For these reasons, His Holiness (always reserving, however, the rights of the Roman Church and of the glorious Prince of the apostles, and declaring loudly that this permission must never be looked upon as an act of abdication or of cession of his sovereignty and of the rights founded thereon) allows his subjects, ecclesiastical and lay, where they cannot avoid it without grave peril and loss, to take an oath in the following terms: *I promise and swear not to take part in any conspiracy, plot or sedition whatsoever against the actual government, and to submit myself and be obedient to it in all things that are not contrary to the laws of God and the Church.*

If in truth the usurping government has no other aim than the avowed one, they must be satisfied with the above formula. If they are not satisfied, they show clearly that their intention is to bind the Pope's subjects by the sanctity of an oath, and thus to make them accomplices in a sacrilegious usurpation—an intention which would probably be made so clearly manifest by the subtle and ambiguous terms in which the formula will be framed, it will be rigorously exacted, and a refusal to take it severely punished. But however great such severity, the Pope's subjects will bear in mind that they

evidente, quanto sarà maggiore il rigore con cui se ne esigera la prestazione e se ne punirà il rifiuto. Ma sia per essere tal rigore grande quanto si voglia, si ricordano essi sudditi di esser cristiani è perciò seguaci di quel Divino Maestro che ai suoi, siccome nella vita futura promette amplissimi e sempiterni premi, così nella presente non predire che tribolazione e persecuzione, e che perciò ha insegnato loro a non temere quelli che uccidono il corpo e più oltre non possono fare, ma a temere solo quello che può e l'anima ed il corpo mandare all'eterna perdizione.

G. CARD. GABRIELLI.

are Christians, and thus followers of that Divine Master who, when He promised to his followers the rewards of eternal life, foretold that in this world they would have but sorrow and persecution, and taught them therefore not to fear those who can kill the body, but Him only who can deliver both soul and body to everlasting condemnation.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alleged secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit—King Joseph leaves Bayonne for Spain on July 8, 1808—Marshal Bessières' victory near Medina de Rio-Seco throws open the road to Madrid—Having entered the capital on July 20, he withdraws from it on the 29th of same month, in consequence of the catastrophe at Baylen, which also causes the French troops to fall back on the Ebro—The King takes up his residence at Miranda de Ebro, where the author joins him on September 10—Appendix. Details of the capitulation of General Dupont at Baylen.

IN order thoroughly to understand the causes of the War in Spain, and of the Revolution that produced it, we must go back to the Peace of Tilsit. There is indeed no proof that secret articles were signed together with the ostensible treaty, though King Joseph has frequently assured me that they existed; but either they were not in his own possession, or he did not think fit to communicate them to me. I have always felt some uncertainty on the subject. Like the rest of the world, then, I only know that certain secret articles were supposed to be annexed to the public treaty, which were printed on the

25th of August, 1812, in the *Gazette de Madrid*, when that newspaper was the organ of the Cortes, at that time in possession of the capital. I give them here with the notes that accompanied them.

* Secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit.

Art. 1. Russia is to take possession of European Turkey, and may extend her conquests in Asia at her discretion.

Art. 2. The Bourbon dynasty in Spain, and the House of Braganza in Portugal shall cease to reign. A Prince of the Bonaparte family shall succeed to each of these crowns.

Art. 3. The temporal power of the Pope shall cease. Rome and her dependent States shall be united to the kingdom of Italy.

Art. 4. Russia binds herself to assist France with her navy in the conquest of Gibraltar.

Art. 5. The French shall take possession of towns in Africa, such as Tunis, Algiers, etc., and, at the General Peace, all the conquests which the French may have made in Africa shall be given as an indemnity to the kings of Sardinia and Sicily.

Art. 6. The island of Malta shall belong to the French, and no peace shall be made with England so long as she retains that island.

Art. 7. The French shall occupy Egypt.

Art. 8. The navigation of the Mediterranean shall be permitted to French, Russian, Spanish and Italian vessels only; all other nationalities shall be excluded.

Art. 9. Denmark shall be indemnified in the north of Germany by the Hanseatic towns, on condition that she places her naval squadron in the hands of France.

Art. 10. Their Majesties, the Emperors of Russia and France, shall agree together upon a rule by which it shall be forbidden in future to any power to send merchant vessels to sea, unless the same Power maintains a certain number of men-of-war.

“This Treaty,” adds the Spanish newspaper, “has been signed by Prince Kouratin and Prince Talleyrand.”

But if the style in which these articles are drawn up, and the obscurity of their origin, forbid us to regard them as authentic, it is at least beyond question that very similar stipulations had been agreed on between the two Emperors, and the conduct of affairs subsequently to the Treaty of Tilsit, is in complete conformity with the bases of those stipulations.*

The gigantic project of the division of the world

Two notes accompanied this curious document of which I also give the translation as follows :

Note 1. " As all the events taking place in the north owe their origin to the Treaties of Tilsit of 1807, the public will receive with pleasure an account of the secret articles agreed upon between the Emperors of France and Russia, which we transcribe from the English newspaper, *The Sun*."

Note 2 on Article 9 concerning Denmark. " By this the conduct of England in her famous expedition to Copenhagen, which was so greatly condemned, is completely justified. Time has at last unfolded the secret, and no one can now accuse the English government of dishonourable conduct in having snatched from her assassin the weapons with which he intended to strike her. The capture and destruction of the Danish naval squadron was a necessary evil, that England was bound to inflict under pain of making herself guilty, against the rights of nature, of all the harm that her enemy would have done her by means of that squadron."

* The existence of a secret Treaty of Tilsit is acknowledged by a great number of English politicians. The *Morning Journal*, which succeeded to the *New Times* in 1828, argues from the fact against the conduct of Russia in the war which in the beginning of 1828, broke out between that power and Turkey. (See the *Morning Journal* of October 9, 1828.)

into two empires, to which Alexander had given his adhesion, was to be set on foot by Spain and Portugal. The dissensions that had sprung up in the Royal Family of Spain were secretly aggravated by French Policy, and the ambition of the Prince of the Peace had been flattered by the hope of a throne in Portugal.

Two French armies occupied the capitals of both countries at the beginning of 1808. The Queen and Regent of Portugal* had fled to Brazil from before the French army. The King and Queen of Spain also left Madrid, and repaired to Bayonne, as did the Prince of the Asturias who, after forcing his father Charles IV. to abdicate, had ascended the throne as Ferdinand VII.

I shall not enter here into the particulars of what took place at Bayonne, when these Princes were there in presence of the Emperor. The history of the surrender of the throne of Spain by Charles IV. in favour of Napoleon, and of the renunciation by the Prince of the Asturias and his brothers, of their rights to the succession, is to be found in the writings of the day, and as I was not on the spot, and that King Joseph himself had not arrived there,

* Afterwards Don Juan VI. He had taken the reins of government during the mental derangement of Queen Maria, his mother, and at the death of that Princess he ascended the throne of Portugal and Brazil.

I shall relate only what occurred after the acts of cession and renunciation by Charles IV. and his sons.*

Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Emperor to give an appearance of legality to the great change he had just effected; notwithstanding the pains he took to avoid having recourse to force, the Spanish people were not to be deceived. Their indignation broke out, and every day became more threatening. But these symptoms of a resistance which was so soon to assume a formidable character, did not check Napoleon's course. He had gone too far to draw back. A Junta of Spanish notables, which the Grand Duke of Berg had convened at Madrid, was summoned to Bayonne, and its presence was regarded as a sort of national ratification of all that had taken place there. It was suggested to this assembly to name the Emperor's eldest brother, as the Prince whose elevation to the throne that Charles IV. had just abandoned would best serve the interests of Spain. The Junta acted on the suggestion, and had no sooner made overtures to that effect in the Assembly, than the opportunity was eagerly seized by the Emperor, and a decree of the 6th of June, 1808,

* A very interesting account of this important episode in the history of the period, is given in the concluding chapters of '*Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat.*' (London: Messrs. Sampson Low and Co.) (Translators' Note.)

called Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, to the throne of Spain.

The new King was at Paie, where he had arrived, on the 7th June ; here he heard of his accession ; and thus found himself bound by a solemn act before he had formally consented to it. The Emperor went to meet his brother at some distance from Bayonne, and manifested great affection for him. It was necessary to blind him to the dangers of the part he was about to be made to play, and to show him only its bright side. On reaching Bayonne, Joseph found himself surrounded with all the seductions and all the grandeurs of royalty. He there received the eager homage of the Spanish Grandees, of the members of the Junta, and of the principal personages who had followed the former court and composed the household of Charles IV. and of the Infantes. Protestations of zeal and regard were eagerly made on all sides. It would have taken a very cool head to resist such seductions. Solicitations of all kinds, requests for appointments, places at Court sought for by the most illustrious families,* all

* The Dukes del Infantado, de Frias, and d'Ossuna, the Prince de Castelfranco, the Marquesses d'Ariza and de Santa Cruz, the Counts de Fernan-Núñez, d'Orgaz, and de Santa-Coloña were at Bayonne, and came to congratulate King Joseph. The Duke del Infantado addressed the King in the name of the Grandees, and his speech was remarkable for its protestations of fidelity.

contributed to fascinate the Prince. And at the same time a veil was drawn over everything that was then taking place in Spain. No certain news was received, or if any report contrived to make way through the obstacles opposed to its circulation, its authenticity was sedulously denied.

Amid delusions of all kinds, the session of the Junta was opened, on the 16th of June. At its first sitting, the Junta acknowledged the legitimacy of the rights acquired over Spain by the Emperor, as a consequence of the surrender made by Charles IV., and also their transfer to the eldest of his brothers whom it declared to be King of Spain and the Indies. On the 18th of the same month, a formal deputation waited on Joseph, and confirmed that declaration; but the King, in order to establish his rights not on the declaration, but exclusively on the acts of surrender and retrocession that had preceded it, had already ratified his accession, in an order addressed to the Council of Castile sitting at Madrid, and by a proclamation dated the 11th of June. In these public acts, he had assumed all the former titles borne by the Kings of Spain, among them those of Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, and King of Corsica, a ridiculous protocol, the use of which was to be attributed to the customs of the Spanish Chancellery. But these titles greatly offended the Emperor, who ordered that in future this splendid array of names

should be reduced to the single title of King of Spain and the Indies.

Immediately on the recognition of the new King, the Junta began to discuss a Constitution for the Spanish Monarchy, a draft of which, made under the supervision of the Emperor, was laid before it. Twelve sittings were devoted to this discussion, but they produced only a few important alterations in the original design, which it is but just to admit, was based on sound principles, and tended to procure for Spain the advantages of representative Monarchy. But the hand which offered it was enough to ensure its rejection by the nation, and the project which was repudiated soon afterwards by its own author, perished without receiving any practical application. The labour of the Junta being ended by the adoption and publication of the act of Constitution, it was dissolved, and the members took the road to Spain, on their return to their own homes. The King himself, prepared to set out to take possession of the throne, but before beginning the journey he appointed his ministers and the principal officers of his household. The selection for these appointments was made among men who were distinguished either by their ability or their birth, and met with general approval ; they were at the same time a proof that there was not one of the great families of Spain that did not wish for the honour of holding the same appoint-

ments at the Court of King Joseph that they had held under the sovereigns of the Houses of Austria and of Bourbon during their supremacy at Madrid.* Before they parted, the two brothers agreed on two treaties, with the object of regulating the political and commercial relations between their respective States, and the troops that each was to furnish, in order to maintain the alliance, offensive and defensive, that was perpetually to subsist between them, and which was the subject of an additional article.

All being thus set in order, the new King of Spain left Bayonne on the 8th of July, 1808, with about 1500 French soldiers, a poor escort, but no larger one was available, as the troops intended for the occupation of the Peninsula, and whose number daily became more insufficient, had already been drafted either into Spain or Portugal.

In the absence of an effective force, it was thought desirable to make a brilliant display on the journey.

* The following is a list of the names of the ministers and officers of King Joseph's household, appointed at Bayonne. M.M. O'Faril, de Cevallos, d'Asauza, Jovellanos, Cabarrus, Massaredo and Urguijo, ministers. The first three had been ministers during the ephemeral reign of the Prince of the Asturias as Ferdinand VII. L'Infantado, del Parque, Fernan-Núñez, Ossuna, Hajar, Castelfranco, Orgaz and others, captains of the guard or great officers of the Crown.

The ancient etiquette of Spain was scrupulously observed. The King sat alone on the back seat of his carriage, the front was occupied by the Duke del Parque, Captain of the Guard, and M. d'Asauza, Minister of the Indies. The other ministers including M. de Cevallos,* Minister of Foreign Affairs, followed, and these with the Grandees of Spain, the Chamberlains, various officers of the Household, and Deputies from the Junta, formed a brilliant and numerous retinue. The newspapers took care in describing it, to exaggerate the number of French troops which preceded and followed the equipage. Don Michael Alava, who was afterwards aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, acted on this journey as quartermaster, and had the halting places on the road prepared.

But while an attempt was made by these demonstrations of pomp and state to disguise the inherent weakness of the position, a serious insurrection was being organized in the provinces. A Government Junta established at Seville, had put itself in communication with private Juntas established at various places. Violent proclamations had been published, and were inflaming the people. The right of Ferdinand VII. to the crown of Spain was

* M. de Cevallos excuses himself in his published Memoirs for having accepted the post of minister. It is however quite certain that he asked for it.

recognised by an immense majority in the nation ; and the new King was described as a usurper, against whom it was urgently demanded that all the resources of the country should be employed. The French generals endeavoured to stifle the insurrection in its birth by severe measures and military executions. Villages—towns even, were burned to the ground or given over to pillage.* But this terrible expedient, far from exciting feelings of terror, only increased the anger of the people. French soldiers were murdered on the roads, and communications became more difficult every day. Lastly, a well-ordered army advanced to arrest the progress of the new King, and threatened to cut off his approach to Madrid. Meanwhile, the King and his retinue, after passing through the provinces of Biscaya and Alava, were coming by easy stages, through Miranda da Ebro and Briviesca towards Castile. But as they advanced, and the news from the interior reached them, the aspect of affairs changed, and uneasiness was perceptible on every face. Already among the persons composing the suite, those who had only joined it in order to provide themselves with a safe means of returning to Spain, and those who had been attracted by ambitious motives and who perceiving from the first that their hopes were vain, were not pledged so deeply but that they could withdraw, had turned

* Among others Cuença and Torquemada.

aside, or on various pretexts remained behind, and day by day the King's suite diminished.

In fact, it was becoming more and more doubtful whether he would succeed in reaching Madrid. General Cuesta, who commanded the Spanish army in the neighbourhood of Benevento, could by a few days' march intercept communication between France and Madrid. He might effect this by marching on Burgos at the junction of the two high roads which lead from that town to the Capital, one through Aranda da Duero, the other through Valladolid. But Marshall Bessières, who commanded in Old Castile and in the Kingdom of Léon, did not give the Spanish General time to execute this manœuvre. He collected his troops hastily together, and went out to meet Cuesta, whom he found in position on the heights of Medina da Rioseco, on the 14th of July. The engagement was very brisk, and this first struggle for Spanish independence was unsuccessful. The French, although inferior in number by nearly one half, attacked the enemy with their accustomed valour, and with the confidence born of a long course of victories, as yet unchecked by any reverse. The Spaniards, driven back and completely beaten, retired in disorder on Benevento and from thence on Astorza. Marshal Bessières pursued them to Benevento, which he entered on the 19th of July.

The news of this brilliant victory reached Burgos

on the 16th. On the same day the King entered that town with ringing of bells. The news raised the spirits of the Frenchmen who accompanied the King; and as is usual with our nation, everyone at once passed from anxiety and alarm to the most complete confidence. They persuaded themselves that nothing remained to be done. The Emperor himself seemed to share this confidence, which was so soon to be belied. He thought, or at least he pretended to think, that the victory of Medina da Rioseco had removed every danger. He wrote to his brother that he could not do too much for the General who had secured to him his crown, and that he ought at once to send him the Golden Fleece. But when Joseph received the Emperor's letter, he was no longer at Madrid, and did not hold himself obliged to recompense service which had become useless to him.

However Napoleon may have regarded the consequences of the battle of Medina, it is at least evident that he profited by that event to withdraw from the frontier, where he had remained after the departure of his brother. A longer stay would have become embarrassing, if affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and he, owing to the insufficient means at his disposal, had been obliged to remain a mere spectator. On the other hand, it was difficult for him to withdraw, so long as the issue of his enterprise remained

doubtful. He therefore availed himself of the opportunity of this military success, whose result he might exaggerate at will, to return to Paris, and he left Bayonne on the 21st of July.

Joseph paused one day only at Burgos, and on the 17th resumed his journey towards Madrid. General Dupont covered the city with a force which occupied the passes of the Sierra-Morena, and ought to have already penetrated into Andalusia. The King passed through Lerma, Arandala, Duero, and Buytrago. In the latter town, eight leagues from Madrid, a great change was observable among the principal personages in the King's suite. Many were not forthcoming when the King was ready to set out again; secret conferences were held among those Spaniards whose fidelity was doubtful, and they were extremely reserved in their intercourse with the French, and with those of their compatriots who were most favourable to the new Government. It seems that rumours of what was taking place in Andalusia had already reached them. They could not have known of the principal event, but it was possible for them to be informed of the military movements, and the retreat of General Dupont from Cordova.

The King entered the capital on the 20th July. It was a melancholy scene. The silence and disdainful looks of the inhabitants of Madrid were all the more significant, because much solemnity was

given to the ceremony. Here, as on the journey, all the ancient customs of the Monarchy were observed. Joseph entered Madrid by the Alcala Gate, and thus crossed the town in its widest extent to reach the palace. He sat alone in his carriage. He was received at the foot of the grand staircase by the nobility, who conducted him to his apartments. The bodies of the State came to pay him homage, and on the 23rd of July he was proclaimed King in the squares and principal streets of Madrid, with all the ceremonies observed on the accession of a King of Spain.*

Joseph was absorbed by the cares of government, and unaware of the danger of his position. Three days after his arrival at Madrid he received a warning, by the sudden change that took place around him. The Grandees ceased to appear at the palace, and dispensed themselves from their service there. Partial confidences foreshadowed some great event; interest, even pity, was discernible in the demeanour of those who still kept up some sort of appearance. At last the secret came out, and the French were all the more petrified by it on account of their pro-

* The Marquis d'Astorga, Count of Altamira, who as Alferez-mayor of Madrid should have performed this ceremony, excused himself on the plea of ill health. His place was filled by M Negretti, Marquis of Campo-Alanje, who was afterwards made a duke by King Joseph, and appointed Grand Equerry and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

found security. They learned that General Dupont had capitulated to the Spanish army commanded by Castaños, after an engagement which had taken place near Baylen on the 19th, and that his army, the only one that defended Madrid, had thrown down their arms and yielded themselves prisoners of war.*

When the news of this event, exaggerated as it would necessarily be, in the absence of any authentic information, reached Madrid, and could no longer be doubted, the alarm felt by the French, redoubled by the ill-disguised joy of the inhabitants, was very great. Contradictory proposals and counsels dictated by fear, succeeded each other, and nothing was decided upon. At last it was resolved that the King should leave Madrid. Everything capable of being carried away was taken from the palace and storehouses, and the departure was hurried on.†

This retreat, which might perhaps have become imperative, was certainly premature. After the affair of Baylen, and the capitulation which followed it, the Spanish army took no step to profit by these advantages. It did not menace Madrid, and seemed

* In the appendix to this chapter the reader will find particulars of that disastrous affair, whose details I gathered during my stay at Madrid from trustworthy sources. This account is perfectly exact.

† On this occasion the Spaniards said, "Joseph has put in his pocket the crown he could not keep on his head."

more astonished at its victory than ready to follow it up. The French abandoned the capital rather from the fear inspired by the Spanish victory, than from any real necessity, and the danger from which they fled existed up to that time in their imagination only. It is even probable that if they had persisted in holding Madrid, and summoned the troops under Marshal Bessières to the Tagus, (and there was time for this) Castaños would have hesitated a long time before crossing the Sierra-Morena, and he could not have crossed the Tagus to drive the French from Madrid without fighting another battle, with at least an uncertain result. But the confusion into which the French were thrown by so unexpected a reverse as that of Baylen, prevented them from considering the question with the coolness it required.

Joseph left Madrid on the 29th July, accompanied by the small body of troops which was there, under command of General Savary. The new Ministers, with the exception of M. de Cevallos and a few other persons accompanied the King ; but all the Grandees who had accepted appointments in his household forsook him. The Duke del Parque, who up to the last moment had exercised the functions of Captain of the Guards, and on whom the King reckoned most confidently, proved himself as faithless as the others.

The retreat from Madrid was as silent as the entry into the city had been. There were no external signs of ill-will, as there had previously been no tokens of welcome. The King departed by the same route he had taken on arriving. No honours were now paid him on the way. At Burgos, the Archbishop forbade the ringing of the bells, a homage which had been offered spontaneously when he previously passed through that town. On leaving Madrid the monarch ceased to exist: there remained only a general and an army in retreat.

The evacuation of Madrid caused all the French forces beyond the Ebro to fall back, and obliged them to abandon the siege of Saragossa, which they raised on the 13th of August, notwithstanding that they were already in possession of a portion of the town. Thus the French troops forming three divisions under Marshals Bessières, Moncey, and Ney, withdrew from the interior of the country, and took up their position on the left bank of the Ebro, keeping only a few outposts on the right bank, especially near the Passacorva Pass on the road from Vittoria to Burgos. The seat of government was removed to Vittoria. King Joseph took up his abode, with the Imperial Guard and the Reserve, at Miranda de Ebro, in Castile, with the hope of retaining a footing in that province. Marshal Jourdan,

who occupied the post of Major-General, was with him.

Such was the state of affairs and the position of the French Army in Spain, when I arrived at Miranda de Ebro on the 10th of September, 1808. The King had shown great courage and firmness under his reverses. He did not deceive himself as to the difficulties of his position, but he was ready to do all he could to better it. In our interviews, he talked to me with all his former confidence, and was grateful to me for coming to join him at a moment when his fortunes were at so low an ebb.

On investigating the state of affairs with him I ascertained that the recent misfortunes were the result of several errors. The state of public opinion in Spain had evidently been misunderstood, or, if it were not so, nothing had been done to conciliate it, and I could discern no method of repairing the evil. War was now our only resource ; but it is one thing to vanquish, and another to convince, and so long as the public mind remained unchanged, there was no probability of lasting success. My real opinion was that we would do well to relinquish the enterprise, but at that moment I could not make such a proposal. It only remained for me to resign myself to share the fate of King Joseph, while waiting until events should decide this great conflict

in which France had been so imprudently involved by the Emperor.

Napoleon heard of the capitulation of Baylen a few days after he left Bayonne; and even while he was receiving the congratulations of the authorities of the towns through which he passed on having added Spain to his dominions, the fruit of so many perfidious intrigues was slipping from his grasp. He must now have recognised the mistake he made in undertaking the conquest of Spain with means so inadequate. He had regarded that conquest as a mere episode in his vast designs, and now it was about to demand all his efforts and to drain all his resources.

But as he was not in a position to act promptly, his other forces being at too great a distance to furnish reinforcements to the army of Spain, and as before he could with safety withdraw any of the troops he had in the north he must secure tranquillity by diplomatic arrangements, he kept silence for the moment and dissembled. His anger with General Dupont found no open expression, and the newspapers, which every day for three months had been reporting the events in Spain, were now enjoined to maintain profound silence on all that was taking place there.

In his letters to his brother, the Emperor neither approved or disapproved of anything. In one, he

merely said, "You probably do not care much for the Spanish crown, and it will not be difficult to find you another, if we cannot hold the one in dispute." I cannot tell what importance was to be attached to this hint; but it was not taken by King Joseph, who, on the contrary, made head against the storm with all his might, thus endeavouring to justify the choice that had been made of him. Napoleon had evidently advanced this idea in order to prepare his brother for a change, and to set himself free if the results of the interview at Erfürth, which he was then planning, should forbid him to persist in his designs on Spain.

The capitulation of Baylen was followed by a tacit truce. The French, while waiting for reinforcements from the north, continued to hold their position on the Ebro, and the Spaniards, instead of advancing rapidly from the Sierra-Morena to that river, remained for a long time completely inactive;* it was not until the 23rd of August, more than five weeks after King Joseph's departure, that they entered Madrid, where they lost much precious time in idle rejoicings. At length, about the middle of

* After the capitulation, General Castaños returned to Seville, to fulfil the vow he had made of dedicating his victory to Saint Ferdinand, whose body is interred in the cathedral. He laid the crown of laurel, with which the town had presented him, on the saint's tomb. The French flags were suspended in the church.

September they appeared on the Ebro; crossed that river above Miranda, took Bilboa, and forced the head-quarters of the king to retire on Vittoria, which was reached on the 22nd of September. But the Spaniards did not follow up their advantage, and the month of October was passed in marches and unimportant operations. Bilboa and the positions on the Ebro were alternately occupied and abandoned by the French and the Spaniards, and this petty warfare, which never assumed a serious character, gave time to the columns coming across France from the north, to reach Spain. Thus it was that the Spaniards lost, in a military point of view, the fruits of their victory of Baylen, and in the end the only important result of that event was to inspire the Spanish nation with extraordinary confidence, and subsequently, with obstinate determination which prevented all hope of a reconciliation.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF GENERAL DUPONT'S SURRENDER OF BAYLEN.

In conformity with the orders of the Grand Duke of Berg, General Dupont had marched on Toledo, at the head of about 20,000 men, and from thence had occupied La Mancha so far as the base of the Sierra-Morena, which he reached about the end of June 1808. His movements had met with no opposition. Hostilities had barely commenced between the two nations; the Government Junta, which had only been formed at Seville in June, had not yet had time to put the troops that were assembling in Andalusia into the field. These were afterwards placed under the command of General Castaños, with General Beding and the Marquis de Coupigny under his orders.

General Dupont continued to stretch out his forces, crossed the pass of the Sierra-Morena, and descended into the plain of Andujar, from whence he marched to Cordova. He left about half his troops behind, under the command of General Wedel, to occupy the other side of the Sierra-Morena so far as the Guadalquivir, and to keep up communications with Madrid. Thus the forces with General Dupont could not exceed 10 or 12,000 men. With so few troops the conquest of Andalusia was not to be thought of. He could therefore only hope to surprise a few towns, and to this the expedition was in fact limited. Cordova was sacked; the churches, convents, and public offices were pillaged; the inhabitants were robbed, and many of them were

massacred.* The army then, having heard of the march of General Castaños, who was advancing from Seville upon Cordova, retired precipitately on Andujar. There could not have been a more ill-judged proceeding. A hostile demonstration which could have no results, and which was, consequently, only an avowal of weakness, was a *military blunder*, and an expedition disgraced by pillage, which rendered all the inhabitants hostile, was a *political blunder*, whose results were still more serious.

Those consequences were not long delayed in either case. General Castaños, who was pursuing the French Army, whose timely retreat had been prevented by the occupation of Cordova, detached from 14,000 to 15,000 men under General Reding. These troops marched through Jaen, to Mengibar, a position on the Guadalquivir above Rondujar, which General Wedel had occupied with a detachment. This position was taken on the 16th of July. On the same day, the Marquis de Coupigny crossed the Guadalquivir above Mengibar, and on the 16th he was on the road from Andujar to Baylen. General Wedel, in falling back, had abandoned the latter post and had withdrawn to Guaroman at the entrance of the Sierra-Morena. These movements caused General Dupont to be entirely cut off from General Wedel, and his lines of communication with La Mancha and Madrid were consequently intercepted.

On the 18th of July Reding occupied Baylen. This was a very bold manœuvre, for it threw this Spanish corps between General Wedel at Guaroman and General Dupont at Andujar. The consequences to the Spaniards might have been serious, if Wedel had immediately returned and attacked Reding at Baylen. But Wedel remained inactive in the position he had taken up, and waited for orders. General Castaños, on the other hand, marched from

* See the report of the pillage of Cordova addressed by the Corregidor of that town to the council of Castille, and inserted in the *Madrid Gazette* of the year 1808, page 1372. According to this report the sack lasted ten days. General Laplace is mentioned as having taken 2,000 ducats from the Count of Villa-Maria, with whom he lodged, and to have exacted besides 8,000 reals. General Dupont is accused of having taken from the treasury 5 millions of reals, and 5 millions more from the custom-house funds. This report is doubtless exaggerated, but if even the half were true, it would be a great deal too much.

Cordova, and on the same day, the 18th, occupied the heights above Anjudar,* and prepared to attack the French who were holding that town, while Reding was to fall on them in the rear. General Dupont, who felt all the danger of his position, left Andujar, hoping to reach Baylen, and not knowing that it was held by the enemy. But, having learned, while on the march, that Wedel had withdrawn from Baylen, and that his means of communication with that General were cut off by Reding, he saw no means of escape but by forcing his way through the lines of the latter. He resolved on attacking him between Andujar and Baylen, on the 19th of July, before dawn, and cutting his way through. The attack began at three in the morning. The French troops did not belie their ancient reputation; the Spaniards were several times forced to yield, and their lines were broken more than once,† yet victory was still undecided, and the French had already lost more than 2000 men. It was noon. General Dupont seeing his army exhausted by the night march and the great heat of the day, harassed on the Andujar side by Castaños who had sent a detachment under General Peña to attack the French on their rear, and unable either to advance or to retreat, despaired not only of victory but of holding out until the arrival of General Wedel, on whom he had reckoned to keep Reding in check. In this terrible extremity, he thought himself bound solely to save his troops from utter destruction, and he offered to capitulate. A truce of a few hours was at first agreed upon, and the negotiation ended in a complete capitulation. The following were its principal conditions: The entire French army was to lay down its arms; the Spaniards undertaking to send it back to France in ships which they would supply for the purpose at Cadiz, and promising besides to provide the necessary passports for the passage; officers and men would be allowed to retain their baggage.‡

* They are called *Los Ojos de Cindujar*.

† See the account given by General Reding in the *Gazetta de Madrid*, page 988.

‡ The principal honours of the day evidently belong to General Reding. Castaños may have contrived the plan of the battle, but he was not on the field. Yet he alone is mentioned in all the accounts of the event. The reason is that Reding was a Swiss and a Spanish name was required.

General Wedel's division, which had taken no part in the engagement and which had not yet arrived on the field of battle, was included in the treaty, and it was stipulated that it should share the fate of the army corps to which it belonged.

The conferences were held in a field on the left of the high road from Andujar to Baylen, at about three or four miles from the latter town. The capitulation was signed by General Dupont, and by General Marescot, who had joined the army on his return from a special mission with which he had been entrusted. He was quite apart from the command, and had nothing to do with the events of the day, but he would not desert General Dupont, who on his side attached great value to the signature and recognition of an officer who was highly respected, and whose opinion would have great weight in the judgment that should be passed upon the capitulation. On his return to France, General Marescot paid dearly for his generosity,*

While this negotiation was taking place on the field of battle, where the two armies had just been engaged, General Wedel, who had begun his march in the morning in order to come to the assistance of General Dupont, reached the heights of Baylen. On his way he had defeated the troops left behind by Reding, to watch his movements, and had even taken 600 prisoners. His men were still fresh, and his presence might have changed the fate of the day, and caused Reding to repent of the bold step he had taken, but the General arrived too late. He has been blamed for having made a halt of two hours between Guaroman and Baylen, and for not having quickened his march when he heard firing. Whatever may have been the cause of this delay, it is certain that the disasters of the day are in great measure attributable to it.

General Wedel incurred the fate of the rest of the army, and surrendered himself as prisoner. This was a strange decision! Was he to consider himself bound by a capitulation in which he had taken no part? Was it not in his power to withdraw, and to regain La Mancha, and from thence reach Madrid? Could the Spaniards have prevented his retreat? Was he obliged to yield

* He was deprived of his command after a long imprisonment.

to these hard conditions, in order to save General Dupont's already disarmed troops, who should, it was threatened, be put to the sword, if General Wedel hesitated about surrendering. None of these questions are settled. This event is therefore of an extraordinary character, and as remarkable for the singular circumstances by which it was attended as for the importance of its results.

I am far from believing that there was any treason in the matter, though this was insinuated at the time, and the accusations of the French Government against Generals Dupont and Marescot, together with the severe treatment which they underwent in France, were calculated to substantiate the charge. Nothing could be more unlikely; and in default of any other proof, the rigour with which the Spaniards treated the French prisoners would be a sufficiently strong one to refute such a theory. But that great blunders were committed cannot be denied, and if the pillage of Cordova and the desire to retain such ill-gotten gains were the origin of the faulty military measures that were taken in the first place, and afterwards led to a surrender being preferred to any other line of conduct, that is a sufficiently grave subject for reproach, without having recourse to the odious imputation of treason, which was then so foreign to the character of French generals.

The capitulation of Baylen, whatever was the motive that led to it, did not put an end to the disasters of the French army. After having defiled before the Spanish army on the 22nd and 23rd July to the number of 8,000 men, the remains of Dupont's corps, and 10,000 men of Wedel's division, it was subjected to every humiliation which a people prompt to exaggerate its advantages, and to exercise them with arrogance, could inflict on a defeated enemy—one hitherto dreaded and invincible. The recollection of the conduct of the French at Cordova was, besides, it must be owned, too recent and too exasperating not to have stifled the feelings of compassion which are generally aroused by a brave and unfortunate enemy. Thus, everywhere on the passage of the French, they were insulted and abused. A rising of the mob took place at Puerto-Santa-Maria, as the French troops were embarking on the vessels that were to take them to Cadiz. Their

baggage was plundered by the populace, on the pretext that some vases taken from a church at Cordova had been seen to fall from one of the chests. Lastly, the army of prisoners were not sent on to France as had been stipulated. Their departure from Cadiz was delayed on various pretences, and, two years later, when Cadiz was besieged by the French, the greater number of the prisoners were still on the hulks where they had been placed.

General Dupont protested against the infraction of the treaty, and complained loudly of the ill-usage to which his troops were subjected. His protests were unavailing ; but they occasioned a correspondence between himself and General Morla, the commandant at Cadiz, in the course of which the latter makes use of such severe expressions and such abusive recrimination, that it is evident the Spanish Government of the day shared the feelings of the people, and was quite as ungenerous towards a fallen foe.

CHAPTER XI.

Capitulation of General Junot in Portugal.—The French army leaves the line of the Ebro and falls back on Vittoria—The Emperor arrives at that city on the 7th of November—He deeply offends Spanish pride by the insulting violence of his language—He orders his numerous troops to advance, and follows them on the 10th of November—Marshal Soult's victory over the army of Estramadura opens the gates of Burgos to the French, and the Emperor removes his head-quarters thither on the 11th—Frightful ravages committed by the French army on its march—King Joseph's indignation and grief affect his health—The good understanding between the brothers is again impaired, Napoleon looking upon Spain as his own conquest, and allowing no authority there except his own—The Author advises Joseph to relinquish the crown of Spain, but is not listened to—Marshal Lannes having beaten the troops of Castaños, near Tudela, the Emperor removes his head-quarters to Aranda de Duero—Engagement at Somo-Sierra—The King, who constantly follows the Imperial Head-quarters, at last joins Napoleon at Chamartin, near Madrid, the inhabitants of which place seem resolved on its defence—Retiro is attacked and taken—Madrid capitulates and the French take possession of the town—The Emperor continues to exercise the sole sovereign authority, and the King retires to Prado—Numerous confiscations are ordered by Napoleon—The Austrian armaments, and the march of

the English troops under Sir John Moore, who threatens Valladolid, induce the Emperor before leaving Madrid to effect a reconciliation with Joseph—Arrangement come to by the two brothers.

AFTER the retreat from Madrid, the French army, as already said, had divided into three bodies, and, amounting in all to hardly 50,000 men, taken up its position on the Ebro. There it had remained inactive for six weeks, and this inaction encouraged the enemy to cross the Ebro a little above Miranda, and threaten us in the rear. A movement on one part towards Burgos would have immediately recalled the Spaniards to the right bank of the river, and on the 17th of September such a movement was determined on. But at the moment when the order for its execution was about to be given, intelligence was received of the convention of Cintra, which had been concluded on the 30th of August, between General Junot and General Dalrymple, commandant of the English army in Portugal, in consequence of the battle of Vimicero, lost by the French a few days before. This capitulation, in accordance with which the French army had re-embarked to return to France, made the English complete masters in Portugal, and they were now able to give assistance to Spain without hindrance. In such a situation any movement would have been imprudent, and therefore the plan of an advance on Burgos was

abandoned, and the head quarters being no longer sufficiently strong at Miranda were removed to Vittoria, there to await the coming of the Emperor, who was shortly expected to arrive in Spain.

During our stay at Vittoria, we were kept continually on the alert by the movements of the enemy. They had crossed the Ebro, and taken Bilboa on our flank, and many times threatened to cut off our communication with France; but the activity of Marshal Ney, whose troops were employed in baffling the projects of the Spaniards, the combined movements on Orduña executed by the King at the head of a strong detachment, and the skilful measures taken by Marshal Jourdan, arrested the progress of the enemy. Bilboa was retaken, and the columns that the Emperor was sending into Spain beginning to arrive in succession daily, rendered our position more formidable. At length all was ready, and preparations were made to open the campaign which was to decide the fate of Spain.

Meanwhile Napoleon had learned with certainty at the council of Erfürth that the Emperor Alexander had remained faithful to the engagements into which he had entered at Tilsit. Prussia, enfeebled as she was and occupied by a French army, could do nothing, so long as the good understanding between Russia and France lasted. Austria alone was doubtful; but the habitual procrastination

of the cabinet of Vienna gave Napoleon confidence. He thought that the brilliancy of the fresh victories over the English, which he promised himself, as well as the conquest of Spain, which he believed to be merely a matter of a rapid campaign, would bring Austria to a state of resignation. In any case he would leave sufficient troops in the north to fight that power so long as it was his only enemy, and the event proved that on this head he was not mistaken.

Thus everything was shaping itself towards a fresh contest and one the more remarkable, because the English, who already had expelled the French from Portugal, were going to take part in it, and to encounter their formidable enemy in person. Princes and people awaited the issue with anxiety; the eyes of Europe, which for ten years had been fixed on Italy and Germany, where the destinies of nations had so often been weighed in the balance and decided, were now turned towards a country which had hitherto been unconcerned in those great events. Spain had suddenly become the stage whereon the most fortunate and most skilful general of our time was to find himself face to face with the enemy he was burning to attack, and in conflict with the wild courage of a nation who seemed to have waited until this man had conquered Europe to defy him. The Emperor, after having made

arrangements which were to ensure to him some years of concord with Russia, arrived in Paris from Erfürth on the 19th of October, 1808. The formidable masses which composed the Grand Army were already in movement. Their passage through France, covered with honours and glory, was a succession of fêtes, and, only that a certain want of discipline was occasionally manifested, their march would have resembled a continual triumph rather than a military movement. The troops had just reached the Spanish frontier when the opening of the Legislative Body took place in Paris, on the 23rd of October.

The Emperor's speech on that solemn occasion is full of pride, satisfied with the present, and confident in the future. "It is," said he, "a special favour from the same Providence that has constantly favoured our arms, that the English authorities are now so blinded by passion, that they are not satisfied with the empire of the sea, but must present their armies on the continent. I intend leaving Paris in a few days, in order to take the command of my army in person, and, with the help of God, I shall crown the King of Spain in Madrid and hoist my eagles on the towers of Lisbon."

Vainglorious boast, which events have too utterly belied !

Napoleon left Paris on the 30th of October, and

reached Vittoria on the evening of the 7th of November. He was accompanied by the Prince de Neuchatel, the Marshal-Dukes of Dalmatia and Friuli, and by his generals, the Duke of Rovigo, Nansouty, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes. The King met him at a distance of five miles from the town. The Emperor had travelled with astonishing rapidity, but he seemed to be very little fatigued. However he saw no one during the evening except his brother, with whom he dined. On the following day he came to the audience given by the King in a gallery of the house in which Joseph was residing. He requested that the Spaniards present should be named to him, and spoke to them all with great animation, expressing himself alternately in French and in Italian, according as he thought he could best make himself understood. But the greater part of what he said was unintelligible to them. I heard it all, and perceived that he was excessively annoyed.

He complained bitterly of the conduct of the Spaniards, who had stupidly failed to see the advantages of the change he had introduced in their political system. He was especially bitter against the monks: "It is they," he exclaimed, "who mislead and deceive you. I am as good a Catholic as they, and I am not against your religion. Your priests are paid by the English, and these English, who say they come to help you, want your trade and

your colonies. That is their real design. What have you gained by listening to their perfidious counsels? I am here with the soldiers who conquered at Austerlitz, at Jèna and at Eylau. Who can withstand *them*? Certainly not your wretched Spanish troops, who do not know how to fight. I wished to spare you. I thought that troops would be required only to maintain public tranquillity and to garrison the fortresses; but now Spain must become the seat of a sanguinary war, and you will have to bear all its attendant evils. In two months I shall have conquered Spain, and I shall have all the rights over her that conquest gives the victor. Treaties, constitutions, all the acts that have been sanctioned by mutual consent, exist no longer. I shall no longer be bound to carry them out, and if I still respect any of them, you will owe it simply to my generosity. But as I can no longer trust the nation, I shall take sureties for it, and if I place it under military law, it will be because Spain herself has forced me to do so."

During this apostrophe, and some others of the same kind, his auditors, not clearly comprehending their import, looked at each other in bewilderment. Those who understood him, for instance the Spanish Ministers, were distressed, for they could not doubt that as soon as the intentions and thoughts so bluntly and publicly expressed by the Emperor, became known, they would exasperate the people, and would

bring to the front that formidable militia of monks which he had attacked so openly. His language about the Spanish troops, and the poor opinion he entertained of them, were especially calculated mortally to offend a nation to whom the least appearance of contempt is intolerable. Thus, at the very outset, he had deprived himself of all moral support.

The Emperor remained three days only at Vittoria, to regulate military matters and to put the bodies of troops that he had brought from the Northern frontiers and the interior of France in motion. These troops, added to the 50,000 men who had taken up their position on the Ebro, after the retreat from Madrid, formed an army of 150,000 men, exclusive of the Imperial Guard and the King of Spain's Royal Guard just arrived from Naples. The army, full of enthusiasm, was composed, in great measure, of the veterans who had so often distinguished themselves in Italy and Germany, and was only waiting for the signal to fall upon Spain as upon a prey which could not escape them.*

* Independently of these troops, which were about to serve under the immediate orders of the Emperor, there was a considerable body in Catalonia under General Gouvion St. Cyr. By adding the two regiments of the Guards to the line, we may reckon the French soldiers intended for the conquest of Spain at 250,000 men at the opening of the campaign. This force was subsequently augmented by the return of the army of Portugal, which had been sent into France after the Cintra

That signal was given. The Emperor left Vittoria on the 10th November, and on the same day the army crossed the Ebro at various points. At the opening of the campaign the disposition of the troops was as follows: The first and fourth divisions, under Marshals Victor and Lefebvre, formed the right wing of the French army, and were marching on the army of Galicia, which was then commanded by General Blake; Marshal Soult, with the second division, was in the centre, and was marching on Burgos through Miranda de Ebro, having on his front the Spanish army called that of Estramadura; the left wing was commanded by Marshal Moncey, who was very shortly afterwards succeeded by Marshal Lannes.

Convention and was now ordered back to Spain. There were then nearly 300,000 French in the Peninsula. These troops were divided into eight *corps d'armée*, under commands as follows:

The 1st, under Marshal Victor;

The 2nd, under Marshal Soult;

The 3rd, quartered principally in Arragon, under Marshal Moncey; afterwards under Marshal Lannes and General Junot successively, and finally under General Suchet;

The 4th, under Marshal Lefebvre and afterwards under General Sebastiani;

The 5th, under Marshal Mortier;

The 5th, under Marshal Ney;

The 7th, in Catalonia, under General Gouvion St. Cyr, and afterwards under Marshal Augereau;

And lastly, the 8th in Portugal under General Junot, and later under General Massena.

This wing debouched from Navarre by Logroño, and marched against the Spanish force called the Army of the Centre, under General Castaños. Another corps was formed under Marshal Moncey for the siege of Saragossa, and kept General Palafox in check in Arragon.

To these forces, the Spanish could oppose about 150,000 men divided into the armies of Galicia, Estramadura, the Centre, and Arragon. The army of the Centre commanded by Castaños was the strongest. But the Spanish Generals were independent of each other and received their instruction from the Central Junta at Aranjuez, which had appointed Civil Commissioners to each army. This arrangement, which deprived the Generals of part of their authority, could only exercise a most disastrous influence on military affairs.

The first advance of the French army was attended by striking success at all points. On the 11th of November, Marshal Victor defeated the Galician forces at Espinosa, and obliged Blake, who commanded them, to retreat hurriedly to the mountains of the Asturias and Galicia. Marshal Soult reached Burgos on the 10th, and completely defeated the army of Estramadura, commanded by the Marquis of Belvedere, a young man of no experience, near the town of Gamoual. After this victory, which opened the gates of Burgos to the French, Marshal Soult

marched on Reynosa to cut off the retreat of the army of Galicia which had been defeated by Victor. But he was too late ; Blake had already made his way through and had reached Galicia. Marshal Soult occupied Santander and the hill sides of the Asturias.

These engagements cost the French but few men and the vanquished suffered severely. The Spanish troops, hastily levied, animated by a patriotic instinct and full of unfounded confidence, could not stand against soldiers who had fought fifty battles and were accustomed to victory. Nevertheless the Emperor celebrated these preliminary arrangements with great demonstrations, although they were remarkable only for their rapidity. To make it believed that the War in Spain would really be ended in one campaign, he represented the easily won victories of Gamoual and Espinosa as great and bloody battles, although by a curious contradiction the very same bulletins express the greatest contempt for the Spanish troops, whom they describe as a mob of school boys and peasants unworthy of the name of soldiers. Lastly, to add to the glory of these victories, the colours taken at Burgos were sent to Paris and solemnly handed over to the Legislative Body.*

* The despatch of these flags was the occasion of an official rectification, which proves to what a pitch Napoleon carried his jealousy of his prerogative as a Sovereign, and his fear lest the sending of these trophies should be regarded as a homage offered to the Body representing the nation.

On the 11th of November the Emperor moved his head-quarters to Burgos where King Joseph arrived on the 12th. All the villages on the way were deserted. Briviesca, a town of some importance half way between Miranda and Burgos, had not been spared any more than the others, and we could scarcely find a night's shelter there. As we approached Burgos, we crossed the field of battle on which the engagement of the 10th had taken place—it was covered with the bodies of the slain. A melancholy spectacle! yet it did not impress me so painfully as the appearance of the town when we entered it. Almost all the houses were deserted and plundered, the furniture was broken up and the fragments lay in the mud; one part of the town on the other side of the Arlanzou* was in flames; a brutal soldiery were breaking doors and windows and smashing everything that came in their way, consuming little and destroying much.

Several newspapers had stated that the Empress, in replying to a Deputation from the Legislative Body, which was sent with congratulations on the victories in Spain, had said that she was very glad to see that the first thought of the Emperor had been "for the Legislative Body which represents the Nation." This expression was severely commented on in a note inserted in the *Moniteur* of December 15th. It was stated therein that the Empress understood the Constitution of France too well to have made use of this expression, and that the first representative of the Nation is the Emperor.

* A river which runs through Burgos and falls into the Pisuerga.

The churches were sacked, the streets were choked with the dead and the dying; in fact we witnessed all the horrors of an assault, although the town had made no defence! The Cathedral, one of the finest monuments of Gothic architecture, owed its safety to the precaution which had been taken to keep the doors closed. But the Chartreuse and the principal Convents had been sacked. The monastery of las Huelgas, the wealthiest and most noble among the communities of women in old Castille, was converted into stables, the tombs within the Church and Cloister had been broken open in search of the treasures which they were supposed to contain, and the corpses of the nuns were flung on the pavement, among human bones, and fragments of shrouds.

We remained a fortnight at Burgos, and during our stay I had time to become sick of horrors. We may date from this period the manifest moral change which took place in the French army. The resolution of abandoning the villages and even the towns, to which the inhabitants had come, had resulted in the impossibility of procuring any regular supplies for the army, and the soldiers, thrown upon their own resources for the necessaries of life, were no longer under any restraint. They would no longer do anything but fight and plunder; military discipline vanished, and the Emperor, who witnessed all this disorder, being unable to command the daily dis-

tribution of rations, was obliged to tolerate it.' I saw a bivouac fire kept up all night under the very windows of the Archbishop's house, where the Emperor was lodging, by burning musical instruments and articles of furniture taken from the houses. King Joseph remonstrated, but his interference was ill-received, and the pain with which he witnessed such treatment under his own eyes of one of the most important towns of the kingdom that he was supposed to govern gravely affected his health. He kept his room for several days, and the Emperor visited him twice during his stay at Burgos. The interviews between the two brothers were not of a pleasant nature. Napoleon no longer considered himself bound by the engagements he had made at Bayonne, and though he seemed quite willing that Joseph should retain the crown he had bestowed on him, he regarded himself as authorized, by right of conquest, to regulate afresh the system on which Spain was to be governed in future. It was evident that he would leave on the throne only the mere shadow of a king. And in fact, so soon as he had put his foot on Spanish territory, all other authority but his own ceased to exist among the French, and that of the King, feeble enough hitherto, completely disappeared. But if this concentration of power was necessary for the success of military operations, the Emperor, supposing him to be sincere

in his intention of maintaining his brother on the throne, was bound to treat the sovereign he had given to Spain with the consideration due to the supreme rank to which he himself had called him. Far from doing this, he dispensed with even the simplest civilities, and neither permitted him to share in the command, nor to partake in the renown of the military achievements. The King was reduced to following in the track of the head-quarters. He would have even gone without an escort, if his Guards, the only regiment at his command, had not defended him against the bands that gathered on the rear of the French troops so soon as they had passed by.

I was the King's companion on this melancholy journey, and he informed me of what had taken place in the two interviews at Burgos. I did not hesitate to advise him to resign a position of so little honour. I counselled him strongly to renounce a crown which he could only reach through torrents of blood, and which could never be made sufficiently secure to justify his acceptance of it at the price of such humiliation and insults. I still believe that had he followed my advice, making known the motives by which he was actuated, he would have been held in respect by his contemporaries and by posterity. But his fear that his renunciation of the crown would be imputed to weakness rather than

to philosophy, his anxiety for the fate of the few Spaniards who had cast in their lot with him, and whom he thought he could better protect by remaining—perhaps also it is hard to renounce the name of King after having once borne it—all these considerations prevailed, and my advice was unheeded.

During his stay at Burgos, a financial measure of Napoleon's ruined a large number of Spanish landholders, and still further increased the hatred and aversion felt towards the French. He decreed the confiscation of the wool then in the town, which was the ordinary dépôt for that valuable article of commerce, after the shearing of the sheep, until it is sent for export to Santander. This confiscation was effected under the pretence of indemnifying the French who had incurred losses in Spain.

The Emperor, who had only remained at Burgos to give time to the left wing of his army to cross the Ebro, and to advance on the Douro, having been informed that Marshal Lannes, who was in command, had beaten General Castaños' division on the 22nd of November at Tudela, left the capital of Old Castille on the 25th of November and moved his head-quarters to Aranda. The King, on learning of this brilliant success by a letter from the Emperor himself, set out on the morning of the 28th attended by his guards and a small retinue, and we reached Aranda

on the 30th of November. The Emperor had left the place the evening before, and on the 30th had defeated a body of Spanish troops entrenched in the Passes of Somo-Sierra. After this victory he advanced by forced marches on Madrid, being no longer opposed by any enemy capable of resisting him.

On receiving this news, we set off again in the evening of the 30th of November. At midnight we reached Fresnillo de la Fuente, which place we left at four o'clock A.M. of the 1st of December. After a few hours' march we came in sight of the lofty chain of mountains which crosses this part of Spain. It is called Guadarrama and separates New from Old Castille.* The road we were following enters this chain by a very narrow pass that runs between two parallel mountains, and ends in a *puerto* as it is called by the Spaniards, which separates the two watersheds of this range. The first, by which we were approaching, carried its waters into the Douro, and the second into the Jarama, and thence into the Tagus.

It was here, close to a village which doubtless on account of its situation had received the name of

* This chain runs from West to East, from Cape Finisterre to the frontiers of Catalonia. Here, trending to the South, it encircles the province of Cuença, the kingdoms of Mercia and Granada, and slopes down to the Mediterranean at the Straits of Gibraltar. It is very lofty, and several of its peaks are covered with snow during nearly the whole of the year.

Somo-Sierra, that the enemy had attempted some resistance. A formidable battery placed on the height, and commanding the pass, seemed to render it impregnable. But this battery was forced and carried in an instant by a charge of the cavalry of the Guard and especially of the Polish Lancers.* The road was strewn with the bodies of men and horses. Twelve or fifteen guns and three hundred prisoners were the fruit of the daring and victorious action by which New Castille was opened to us. The road on the other side of Somo-Sierra was strewn with the wreck of the fugitive Spanish army. Buytrago, which we reached at two o'clock in the afternoon, is a very large village, but it was completely deserted, not a single inhabitant remaining in it. We only stayed the time necessary for resting our horses, and resumed our journey at six in the evening. We proceeded towards Madrid by a very fine road.

At a short distance from Buytrago, we crossed the last spur of the Guadarrama mountains, and at length entered on the plain of New Castille, a wide table-land at a great height above the level of the sea. We endeavoured to quicken our march so as to reach St. Augustin, where we knew the Emperor had fixed his head-quarters. But the exhaustion

* Count Philip de Ségur received three severe wounds in this engagement.

of our horses obliged us to halt a league on this side, at another village called El Molar, where we found provisions and forage. We had travelled on that day more than twenty French leagues. We were now only three (Spanish)* leagues from Madrid which we expected to enter without difficulty on the following day, the 2nd of December. But it fell out otherwise, and in order to explain the unexpected resistance of the Capital I must recur to what had taken place during the last few months among the Spaniards.

After the battle of Baylen and the retreat of the French to the Ebro, communications with the various provinces of Spain were re-established, and the want of a central authority began to be felt. The Government, which up to that period had been divided among the Provincial Juntas, was placed in the hands of a supreme Central Junta, appointed by the Provincial Juntas and consisting of thirty-two deputies. The members of this new Government assembled at Aranjuez on the 25th of September, 1808, under the presidency of Count Florida Blanca, and proclaimed their authority in a manifesto addressed to the nation. It was recognised, after some hesitation, by the Council of Castille, the first judiciary body in Spain, and even by the Tribunal of the inquisition. In this manifesto, the Supreme Junta laid

* There are twenty Spanish leagues to a degree.

down the principles on which it purposed to act. It was drawn up so as to propitiate the prevalent sentiments in Spain. It contains the germ of the political changes ardently desired by the middle classes of society, who wished to introduce representative Government into Spain. The Central Junta at first conciliated the people by the adoption of certain revolutionary measures. The views of the citizens were enquired into, oaths were required of them, and retractations exacted from such as were suspected of partiality towards the French. Those who did not hold the opinions of the Junta were dismissed from their posts, while those who decidedly opposed them were banished. The Council of Castille had to annul the Acts of Cession and Renunciation by Charles IV. and his children, and to erase them from the registers. A special tribunal was appointed to arrest and to try as a spy every individual accused of keeping up any communication with the French. The estates of those Spaniards who had held any post on the nomination of King Joseph, and those of his ministers in particular, were sold by auction. The only persons excepted were those, who, like M. de Cevallos, and the Dukes del Parque and del Infantado, after accepting political places and even posts in the household, had forsaken Joseph when his fortunes changed. The Prince of the Peace, who had incurred the unrelenting hatred of the nation, was treated

with equal severity, as were also the members of his family: their goods were declared national property, and even their furniture was sold. Lastly, the Junta, in order to propitiate the clergy, allowed the Jesuits, who since the suppression of the Order had been banished from Spain, to return, and appointed the Bishop of Orense Grand Inquisitor.

These proceedings pleased the people of Madrid, satisfied their resentment, and added daily to the public agitation. The Junta, moreover, fearing to weaken the feelings on which its own power depended, carefully concealed from the Nation the danger now impending over it from the onward march of Napoleon's army. But when the campaign was opened, and that each day, so to speak, brought the news of fresh disaster, the Junta, no longer able to hide the misfortunes of the army, cast the blame on the generals; thus altogether loosing the bonds of discipline among the troops. The command of the Army of Galicia was taken from General Blake in consequence of the engagement at Espinosa, and given to the Marquis de la Romana. And after the battle of Tudela, Castaños, the conqueror of Baylen, was very near being declared a traitor by the same nation which three months previously had honoured him as the heroic Saviour of Spain.

Meanwhile, the Spanish troops, being no longer able to oppose the advance of the French on Madrid, the Junta, whose members acted only as popular tribunes, resolved to put the capital in a state of defence, regardless of the danger of exasperating a victorious enemy, and exposing the city to those penalties which it might incur by a vain resistance. The organisation of the defence was entrusted to General Don Thomas Morla* and to the Prince of Castelfranco. The pavement of the streets near the gates of the town was taken up; the Palace and the enclosure of Buen-Retiro,† which overlooks Madrid, were fortified and defended by batteries; the barracks of the Body Guard, situated on the north-west of the town, were garrisoned and crenelated. Redoubts were raised to mask the principal gates, loop-holes were pierced in the outer walls, and also in all projecting buildings. More than a hundred pieces of ordnance defended these roughly constructed fortifications, which appeared to the ignorant populace to be impregnable ramparts. Nevertheless the preparations made by the Junta since the French had passed the Douro, and still more the departure of the Junta itself from

* The same who had been Captain General of Andalusia, and who commanded at Cadiz at the time of the capitulation of Baylen.

† A former residence of the Kings of Spain, situated to the North of Madrid, within the walls of the city.

Aranjuez,* immediately after the pass of Somo-Sierra had been forced, cooled the enthusiasm of the inhabitants. Private interests began to assert themselves; they might even perhaps have prevailed, and Madrid have opened her gates, if the lowest class among the populace, who had nothing to lose, and who had been too much conciliated up to that time to be controlled now, had not seized on authority. Fugitives from the Reserve Division, defeated at Somo-Sierra, who had reached Madrid in disorder, joined the mob, and were the more zealous that they hoped by a tardy display of ardour to atone for the defeat which they attributed to their officers.† The streets and squares echoed with ferocious shouts calling all citizens to arms. Those who dared to speak of any compromise were threatened with death as traitors. No flag of truce could be sent out, no negotiation could be opened, no proposition could be heard.

While these things were taking place in Madrid the French army arrived without further opposition

* The Junta removed first to Talavera de la Reyna, thence to Merida; and later on, to Seville. Shortly before leaving Aranjuez, the Members took an oath to listen to no proposal for peace until Ferdinand VII. was restored to the throne.

† They rebelled against General Don Benito San Juan, their commander, who endeavoured to restrain their excesses, and massacred him. The soldiers suspended him by his right hand to a gibbet, and shot him.

close to the capital. On the 2nd of December the cavalry of the Van-Guard had reached the neighbouring heights and the Emperor arrived at noon. He had intended to enter the city on that same day, it being the anniversary of his coronation and also of the battle of Austerlitz ; but his summons to surrender produced no effect, and he was obliged to await the coming of the infantry, which did not arrive until rather late in the evening, and to defer the attack until the following day. The Emperor fixed his head-quarters at Chamartin, in a country-house belonging to the Duke del Infantado, and the King remained in the same village.

Firing began on the 3rd of December in the morning, and lasted until an hour after noon. The positions on the Retiro were forced, the French got within the walls of the town and thence into the Rado and the Alcala. But the attack was less successful on the side of the Guards' Barracks ; the artillery failed to make a breach in the massive walls of the building, and the Spaniards kept up from the windows a deadly fire which inflicted serious loss on the French.

During the attack on Buen-Retiro, and after the occupation of that position, there had been some negotiations between the Marquis of Castelar, Commandant of Madrid, and Marshal Berthier, but they led to no result. In the evening, however, there was

a kind of truce ; General Morla came to Chamartin and the firing ceased.

The ill-success of the defence of Buen-Retiro, and the sight of the enemy already master of a portion of the town, had shaken the confidence of the besieged : during the night the most ardent among them took their departure and left the field free to those who wished to come to terms. On the 4th of December, at six in the morning, General Morla and General Don Fernand de la Véra presented themselves at headquarters to treat for a capitulation. This was signed in the course of the morning, and the French took possession of the city, of which General Belliard was appointed Governor. The principal stipulations of the surrender were as follows : full and entire amnesty to those inhabitants who had taken up arms in defence of the town ; inviolability of private property ; exclusion of all other worship than the Catholic ; and maintenance of the tribunals until the new organization of the kingdom should be established.

In this capitulation, and in the numerous documents connected with it, there was no mention made of the King ; he had kept aloof from all the negotiations as from the military operations. Neither was there any mention of the constitution given to Spain a few months before, nor of the arrangements concluded at Bayonne. The Emperor, acting as a Conqueror, did not consider himself bound by those

antecedents, and exercised the full extent of sovereign power, without admitting any intermediary between himself and the nation. All his decrees and all his orders being made without the concurrence of the King, the position of the latter at head-quarters, where he bore a vain title without any functions, became quite unbearable. Having no authority to exercise at Madrid, Joseph would not go thither, and preferred to withdraw to one of the country houses belonging to the Kings of Spain, while awaiting the course of events which should either restore him to his rights, or make him resolve upon renouncing them altogether. He therefore left Chamartin on the 6th of December, and took up his abode at Pardo, an ancient castle built by Charles V. in an immense wood about a league from Madrid.

The strictest order and discipline were observed by the French troops on entering Madrid after the capitulation, and the inhabitants suffered only from the evils inseparable from the presence of a foreign army. Entire tranquillity reigned in the town from the 4th of December, and every one was free to return to his ordinary occupations.

But this moderate conduct, which was rendered all the more generous by the hostility of the inhabitants, obtained for the French neither regard nor gratitude from those whom they spared ; and hatred, which the clemency of the Conqueror had failed to abate, might

be discerned in the gloomy and severe countenances of the few inhabitants who showed themselves outside their houses. None came to meet the French, none sought to propitiate their new masters by attentions to the generals and officers. Even curiosity seemed to have lost its power. For several days no women appeared in the streets ; none even could be seen at the windows. The theatres were reopened by order of the French Government, but no Spaniards attended the performances. At the houses in which the soldiers were quartered, everything they required was either given them, or they were suffered to take it, but nothing was offered, and the masters of the house avoided as far as possible all contact with their guests. Never did the inflexible Castilian character display more obstinacy, and never was the greatest misfortune that can happen to a capital city, that of falling into the power of the enemy, borne with more dignity and pride.

Struck by the extraordinary deportment of the people, Napoleon was obliged to recognise that he had been mistaken, and that the seizure of Madrid had not produced the effect he had intended. Moreover, that capital, which is inferior in population and wealth to several other towns in the kingdom, does not exert the influence—often a dangerous one—that the vast capitals of some European States exercise over the rest of the nation. In taking Madrid he

had only taken a city whose surrender would not have involved that of Toledo, distant only five-and-thirty miles, unless troops had been sent there also.

In vain did the Emperor try to change the public mind by using the means that had succeeded elsewhere. He had flattered himself that his famous name, and the desire to behold so extraordinary a man would have attracted the populace to him ; that the road from Madrid to Chamartin would be thronged with a curious multitude ; and that he would be watched and followed. Nothing of the kind occurred. He passed through the town to visit the palace of the Kings of Spain ; no one followed nor even stayed to look at him on his way. He held a grand review of the army on the plain between Chamartin and Madrid. It had been announced two days beforehand in the hope that some of the inhabitants of the town would be attracted by curiosity, and that he should receive some kind of homage from them. In this also he was disappointed : the review took place, but there was not a single Spaniard present.

This determined enmity, and still more this disdainful indifference, were profoundly irritating to Napoleon, and were probably not without influence on his ulterior views for Spain. From the measures which he took after the capitulation of Madrid, and especially from his proclamation of the 7th of December to the Spaniards, it is clear that he already contem-

plated the annexation of at least a part of the Peninsula to his Empire. The proclamation ends with these remarkable words: "If my efforts are in vain, if you do not respond to my confidence, it will only remain for me to treat you as conquered provinces and to place my brother on another throne. I shall then put the crown of Spain on my own head, and I shall know how to make evildoers respect it, for God has given me both the strength and the will to overcome every obstacle." During Joseph's stay at Pardo, the Emperor visited his brother and had a long conference with him, but it brought about no change in their relative positions, and the two brothers parted mutually dissatisfied. Although the King whom he had himself created six months before was present, Napoleon continued to reign alone. He alleged that as he had conquered Spain, all other rights had disappeared before those of conquest, and that it was no longer in virtue of the cession of Charles IV., or the renunciation of the Infante, but by right of arms, that he was master of Spain.

A few days later, on the 15th of December, when the necessity for his return to France had become urgent, the Emperor received a deputation from the city of Madrid. This step, which had been concerted with the Municipality, was taken ostensibly to request that King Joseph would assume the reins of Govern-

ment and enter the Capital ; but its real aim was to afford Napoleon an opportunity of manifesting, more clearly than he had hitherto done, his sentiments and views with regard to Spain.

“The Bourbons,” he says in his reply to the deputation,* “can no longer reign in Europe. The dissensions in the Royal Family have been brought about by the English. The real design of the Duke del Infantado, a tool of England, is proved, by papers recently discovered in his house, to have been, not the overthrow of King Charles and his favourite, but the preponderance of England in Spain—a senseless project, the consequence of which would have been endless war and bloodshed. No power can exist on the Continent if influenced (*influencée—sic*) by England. If there be any Powers who desire this, their desire is senseless, and sooner or later will prove their ruin.

“It would be easy for me, and I might be obliged, to govern Spain, by appointing as many Viceroys as there are provinces. I do not however refuse to *yield my right of conquest* to the King, and to establish him in Madrid when the 30,000 inhabitants of that capital, ecclesiastics, nobles, merchants and lawyers, shall have manifested their sentiments and their fidelity, set an example to the provinces,

* The discourse in full may be found in the *Moniteur* of 25th of December, 1808.

enlightened the people, and made the nation understand that its existence and its happiness depend on a King and a liberal constitution, favourable to the people, and adverse only to the selfishness and pride of the grandees.

“ If such are the sentiments of the inhabitants of Madrid, let her 30,000 citizens assemble in the churches, let them in presence of the Blessed Sacrament take an oath, not from the lips only, but from the heart, and without any Jesuitical reservation. Let them swear support, love, and fidelity to the King; let priests in the confessional and in the pulpit, let merchants in their correspondence, let lawyers in their writings and their speeches impress these sentiments on the people! Then I will divest myself of the right of conquest; I will place the King on the throne; and it shall be my pleasing duty to act towards the Spaniards as a faithful friend. The present generation may differ in its opinions—too many passions have been called into play; but your children will bless me as your regenerator; they will mark the days I have spent among you as memorable, and from those days will date the prosperity of Spain.”

Hesitation is to be detected in this discourse. It is evident that the hostile attitude of Austria, which was becoming more apparent every day, and her armaments, had convinced the Emperor of the

necessity of adjourning the execution of his designs on Spain. He perceived that the time he could still devote to that country would be insufficient for the complete subjugation and dismemberment of the Peninsula.

Among the numerous decrees issued by Napoleon during his stay at Chamartin, and which affected the various branches of the administration, many deserve to be quoted for their liberal tendency. Such are the abolition of the Inquisition, the suppression of the customs between province and province, and that of feudal rights and seignorial justice, the revocation of all alienation of the public revenues, the reduction of the number of monasteries to one third, the prohibition of vows under the age of thirty, the granting of liberty to monks to leave their communities and to return to the class of secular clergy. No doubt these decrees were in conformity with the principles of a wise administration, but they were only meant as a bid for public favour, and as no measures were, nor could have been, taken, to put them into execution, they remained for the most part a dead letter. It was otherwise with regard to an Imperial decree by which the Dukes del Infantado and d'Osuna, the Prince of Castelfranco, the Counts Fernan-Nuñez, and d'Altamira, Don Pedro Cavallar, and the Bishop of Saragossa were declared traitors to their country, and their property

was confiscated towards payment of the cost of the war and to indemnify those Frenchmen or Spaniards in the service of the King who might have sustained losses through its attendant circumstances. The administration of these properties was confided to French agents under the authority of the Comte de Laforet, French ambassador at Madrid, and of the Baron Fréville, Master of Requests.*

The impending rupture with Austria on the one hand, and on the other the advance of an English corps,† which was seen on the 20th of December marching on Toro and Valladolid, hastened the Emperor's departure from Chamartin. He would not miss the ardently desired opportunity of fighting the English. But while advancing to meet them he could not venture to leave Madrid in the state of uncertainty and confusion in which he himself had involved public affairs. Being forced therefore to set up a Government of some sort, he took what came to his hand, and resolved, without waiting for the execution of any of the conditions he had dictated a week

* Or 'referendary.' An officer whose duty consists in reporting petitions to the Council of State. (Translator's Note).

† These troops, commanded by General Moore, had marched from Portugal to the assistance of Madrid; but, surprised at the rapidity of the Emperor's movements, and also advancing with extreme circumspection, they had done nothing to promote the safety of the capital. Instead of retreating directly into Portugal, they marched towards Le Carrion, threatening Marshal Soult who was at Suldaña.

before, to bring the King once more on the scene, although he had until then excluded him from all participation in Government affairs. The two brothers met, and a somewhat angry explanation ensued. Their mutual grievances were discussed; but as the Emperor needed a tool, he overlooked some few points of offence. At length he appeased his brother's resentment by informing him, that together with the title of Lieutenant-General to the Emperor he would give him direct command over the troops of the Marshal Duke of Belluna and the Marshal Duke of Dantzic. These two corps formed a total of forty thousand excellent soldiers. Both were holding Madrid in check, Marshal Victor having taken up a position at Aranjuez, and Marshal Lefebvre at Talavera de la Reyna.

Joseph could not resist this flattering concession. Although the extent of his authority was but vaguely defined, he conceived great hopes for his future freedom of action in the absence of the Emperor, and the brothers parted apparently reconciled.

Napoleon left Chamartin on the morning of the 22nd of December. He halted that evening at Guadarrama, at the foot of the Puerto of the same name, which his guards had crossed that day, in spite of the intense cold and thickly-falling snow, and the next morning he marched with his accustomed rapidity to Tordesillas, where he crossed the Douro on the 24th

of December. But Sir John Moore, who after crossing that river at Toro, had moved towards Sahagun to attack Marshal Soult, conjointly with the army of Galicia under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, received timely news of Napoleon's approach. At the head of his army, consisting of about 30,000 men, he left Sahagun, crossed the Esla at Valencia-de-Don-Juan, and at Castro-Gonzals, reached Benevento before the French, and retreated on Corunna. The French made vain efforts to reach the English. Some skirmishes with the rear-guard had no important results, and nothing was to be done, except to follow on the track of an enemy whom it was no longer possible to draw into a conflict.

While the cavalry under Marshal Bessières was pressing on the English, and Marshal Soult was driving the Marquis de la Romana and his army before him along the road to Leon, the Emperor arrived at Benevento. He stayed there a few days, and advanced thence to Astorga, where he met Marshal Soult. But, being aware of the uselessness of the pursuit, and unwilling to go too far out of the road to France, he went no further. He ordered Marshal Soult to pursue the English and to *drive them into the sea at the point of the sword*. He then returned to Benevento, and went from thence to Valladolid, where he fixed his head-quarters on the 7th of January.

For twelve days Marshal Soult followed up the English closely, but was never able to come up with them. The English army suffered greatly in this hurried retreat, and on the 11th of January, they arrived under the walls of Corunna. There, they must of necessity hold out, in order to secure time for the embarkation of the army. On the 13th and 14th General Moore occupied a position about a mile from the town, and provided for the embarkation of his sick, his equipments, and the artillery not required for fighting. The French, whose march had been delayed by the necessity of replacing the bridges destroyed by the English, only arrived in presence of the enemy on the 15th. They attacked on the 16th, in the morning. The English fought with great courage and held their position all day. In the evening they withdrew to the gardens surrounding the town, whence the French could not dislodge them on account of the darkness.

At the beginning of the action, Sir John Moore had been killed by a cannon-ball, and shortly afterwards General Baird, who had taken his place in the command, was disabled. But this two-fold loss made no change in the English front, nor in the plans made by Sir John Moore. The English army embarked in the night of the 16th. On the morning of the 17th their fleet was under sail, and the French could offer no opposition to its progress. A few

cannon-balls fired from the heights surrounding the town only struck two or three of the English ships.

The Emperor, who had left Valladolid on the 17th of January to return to France, heard with extreme displeasure of this issue to the brief campaign against the English under Sir John Moore. His hopes of cutting off the retreat of the troops, and annihilating them, were disappointed, and all that he might say and publish to exaggerate the losses of the English, to represent their retreat as a disgraceful flight, and their inaction at the opening of the campaign as cowardice and treachery towards the Spanish nation, in short, all the recrimination by which wounded pride seeks to console itself, availed nothing against the facts. The English had slipped out of his hands, soon to appear again, made stronger and wiser by experience, and to oppose his designs against the independence and integrity of the Peninsula by a determined, and in the end, a successful resistance.

CHAPTER X.

The King leaves his retirement and proceeds to Aranjuez, and thence to Ocaña where Marshal Victor is—The beauty of Aranjuez—The King takes up his residence at Florida—A Spanish division under the Duke del Infantado is defeated by Marshal Victor—Precipitate retreat of the English, who are pursued by Marshal Soult—The King reconstructs his household and makes his entry into Madrid—A favourable change in the feelings of the inhabitants is apparent.

THE King, being recalled to public affairs because he was wanted, quitted his retirement at Pardo and placed himself at the head of the troops under his command. He proceeded to Aranjuez, and thence to the advanced posts of the corps under Marshal Victor, who was occupying Ocaña at the entrance to La Mancha. I accompanied him on this expedition, and I found it as pleasant as it was instructive.

We started in very beautiful weather, on the 28th of December. On leaving Pardo, we made directly, without passing through Madrid, for the Toledo Bridge in order to reach the Aranjuez road. It is a splendid road, but the country is gloomy and bare of trees. At

five (Spanish) leagues from Madrid is the tower of Val-de-Moro, and one league farther on, the valley, watered by the Jarama and the Tagus, comes in view. The aspect of the country becomes more cheerful; long rows of trees mark the banks and the neighbourhood of the two rivers. The background of the picture consists of low hills, partly planted with trees. A somewhat steep descent leads down into the valley, and at a short distance from this a magnificent bridge of twenty arches spans the Jarama. It is a perfect semicircle, beautifully proportioned. Everything denotes the approach to the palace of a great monarch.

From the Jarama bridge to Aranjuez the landscape continually increases in beauty. Cultivated fields, plentiful vegetation, groups of trees on either side of the road attract and please the eyes of the traveller. At length we reached the banks of the Tagus. This famous river flows through the valley in which the town and palace of Aranjuez are situated. In its numberless curves, it encloses fresh and fertile gardens, lends its waters for the needs of the inhabitants of this beautiful district, and on leaving it, flows on to fertilise the immense plain that extends from Aranjuez to Toledo.

The town and castle are situated on the left bank of the river. We crossed it coming from Madrid, by a bridge which the Spaniards had burned in

their retreat, after our entry into Madrid, and which had been temporarily restored.

On the day after his arrival the King went to Ocaña, and I took advantage of his absence to explore the palace and gardens. The architecture of the palace is simple, but, generally speaking, in good taste. The principal block of the building, and the court, were constructed by Philip IV., Charles II., and Philip V.; the two wings were added by Charles III. and Charles IV. The distribution of the interior is good. There are some very fine pictures.

The most remarkable of the gardens is that one nearest to the Castle and which is called La Isla. It is picturesquely situated on an island in the Tagus. Part of this river has been turned from its course, and flows beneath the palace walls, and its waters are arrested by two artificial cascades which greatly add to the beauty of the place. The garden itself has little beauty but that of its situation to boast of. It is adorned with marble and bronze fountains, dedicated to the various divinities of fable, such as Neptune, Bacchus, Venus, etc. These are of little merit, and the repetition of such ornaments, all in a straight line, is wearisome. In short, the efforts of art correspond ill with the natural beauty of the site. The Prince's Garden, in which is the building known as Casa del Labrador, is only visited

for the sake of its surroundings. It is a small house, consisting of one principal block with two parallel wings. A basement supports its one storey, which is surmounted by a very low attic. The architecture is simple, but its projections and recesses are loaded with busts and vases.

The interior was, when I went over it, of extreme magnificence, and it would have been difficult to describe the beautiful and costly objects of all kinds, heaped together, or, so to speak, warehoused in so small a place. Valuable tapestries embroidered in gold and silk, products of the manufactories of Lyons and Valencia, adorned every room. Marble and alabaster had been lavished on the door-ways and chimney-pieces. The panels, the seats, the smallest articles of furniture were of mahogany, artistically carved and gilt with the utmost elegance. Costly clocks of the most varied designs stood on the tables, the consoles, and the chimney-pieces. These were particularly to the taste of Charles IV. who had built this sumptuous edifice, and who was said to take pleasure in pulling to pieces the numerous clocks he had collected, and putting them together again.

Among the many remarkable objects gathered together on this spot, where luxury and magnificence rather than good taste prevailed, what struck me most was a mahogany cabinet constructed in

Paris in separate pieces and sent thence to Aranjuez. The four principal panels contained paintings by Girodet, representing the four seasons. The style is somewhat mannered, but the execution is good, and they are not unworthy of that great master's reputation.

On leaving Aranjuez, the King, who was not yet disposed to return to Madrid, took up his abode at Florida, a charming country house built at the gates of the town, and greatly embellished by its owner the Duchess of Alba. As for me, I settled myself in Madrid, in an apartment assigned to me in the palace, in my capacity as Superintendent of the Royal Household, and began to discharge my duties.

It was at this time that my friend Stanislas Girardin left us to return to France. He had hitherto held the post of First Equerry, but the King had imposed certain conditions on him, if he wished to retain that post, which did not suit him, and he would not remain in Spain. His departure was a great grief to me. Thus ended the year 1808, the last of happiness for me. All the succeeding years, so long as I was engaged in public affairs, were but a series of trials and misfortunes, until the catastrophe took place which restored me to private life.

The departure of the Emperor and of the troops

he had with him, to fight the English in the Province of Léon had revived the courage of the Spaniards. A considerable body of them, organized by the Government Junta then at Seville, and commanded by the Duke del Infantado had advanced on Madrid early in January 1809. The Spanish troops crossed the Tagus in several places, and some detachments advanced as far as Arganda, five leagues from the capital, where their appearance caused great consternation. It was even proposed that the French military establishments and the French families should take shelter in Buen-Retiro. But the alarm was transient. A move made by the Duke de Belluna, who, as I have already said, was occupying Toledo and Aranjuez, forced the Spaniards back over the Tagus, and even drove them from the left bank of the river. The Marshal pursued and defeated them on the 13th of January near Uclès, halfway between Madrid and Cuença. Two thousand prisoners and some flags were the trophies of the day.

After this victory, there could be no obstacle to the return of the King to Madrid, nor to his residence there. Deputations were sent almost daily from the capital to invite him thither, and he at last resolved to accede to the wishes of the inhabitants. He had already during his sojourn at Vittoria replaced those Ministers who had left him after Baylen. The Duke de Campo-Alanje (M. Negretti),

succeeded as Minister of Foreign affairs to M. de Cevallos, and Don Manuel Romero as Minister of the Interior to Don José Jovellanos. Don Pablo Arribas was appointed Minister of Police, a post which until then had not been filled up. Before re-entering the capital the King proceeded to re-construct his household, and again found, among the most illustrious families of Spain, *grandees* willing to replace those who, after accepting appointments at Bayonne, had deserted their posts at Madrid, because of the defeat at Baylen. The Marquis de Val de Carzana was nominated Grand Chamberlain (he had filled the same office under Charles IV.), the Duke de Frias, Grand Master of the Household (*Mayor-domo Mayor*), the Prince de Masserano, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and the Duke de Campo-Alanje, Grand Equerry. Several subordinate posts were also filled up; the Marquis de Monte-Hermoso, de St. Adrian, and many others of distinguished birth, became chamberlains, equerries, and stewards.

The Court being thus re-established, the King prepared to make his entry into Madrid. This took place on the 22nd of January, 1809, but the procession was altogether a military one. The King and his suite were on horseback. I was present, and had an opportunity of observing all that took place. The streets through which the procession passed were not deserted, occasional shouts were raised, and

if there were neither warmth nor enthusiasm, there was no positive antipathy visible on the part of the spectators. In general there was an expression of curiosity, in some few cases one of resignation, in others there was hope, but no signs of dislike or contempt were exhibited. The King dismounted at the Collegiate Church of San-Isidoro and made a simple and manly speech. One phrase only was remarkable. "The unity of our holy religion," it ran, "the independence of the Monarchy, the integrity of its territory, and the liberty of its citizens, are conditions of the oath I took on receiving the crown, which shall not lose in dignity while I wear it."

He endeavoured by these words to refute the rumours that had been circulated concerning the intentions of his brother, and bound himself in some sort to the nation by engagements which it was out of his power to fulfil. This indication of independence was of course very displeasing at Paris.

After the religious ceremony the King proceeded to the Palace, where he found a large concourse of persons awaiting him in his apartments. The next and following days he went out, showed himself in the town, and inspected the public institutions, especially the hospitals. He was tolerably well received. There were decided symptoms of a favourable change in the feelings of the inhabitants

and in the aspect of the town. Aversion was diminishing, hope and confidence seemed about to revive, and it must be said that this change was due to the King personally. His natural disposition was of the greatest service to him under the then circumstances; his amiability, his popularity, and above all the preference he evinced in all things for Spaniards over Frenchmen, were pleasing to the nation. At the same time, the general weariness of strife, the misfortunes of the war, the departure of the English, who had re-embarked after Corunna, and the apparent hopelessness of resistance, were concurrent causes which induced the people to lay down arms, and they began to accustom themselves to a yoke that proved less heavy than they had expected it to be.

CHAPTER XI.

Impossibility of a lasting reconciliation between the Spanish Nation and their new King, because of the state of subjection in which the latter was kept by the Emperor—Surrender of Saragossa—Victory gained by the Duke de Belluna over General Cuesta—Creation of a Council of State—The attempt to recruit the Finances by the sale of National Property—Increasing dissensions between the King and the Emperor, the result of which was to paralyse every Government measure and to render Joseph's authority nugatory—Appendix: Some particulars concerning the second siege of Saragossa.

HAD it been possible to profit by this better state of feeling, a thorough reconciliation might perhaps have taken place. But to secure this, a perfectly independent Government, which would have been free to conduct public affairs in any way it thought fit, was necessary. Sufficient resources in money would also have been required, so that the whole expense of the support of the troops should not fall on the people. We had neither of these things. Although the King was at the head of the army, the generals under his orders always corresponded directly with the French Ministry, and received orders from them, which were frequently opposed to

those that emanated from Madrid. The French Ambassador and the Master of Requests, who were charged with the administration of the property which the Emperor had confiscated, and the numerous agents employed by them, all quite independent of the royal authority, exercised their functions with severity, which probably they themselves deplored, but which it was out of their power to moderate, and this severity completely alienated the people whom the King was endeavouring to conciliate. On the other hand, the absolute deficiency of financial resources allowed of no protective measures. The public treasury, being utterly empty, could not supply funds for the most indispensable expenses. None of the public servants were paid, and all those who had taken the side of the new King, or who from particular circumstances had been obliged to serve under him, now that they received no salary, were added to the number of his enemies, instead of being a support to him. Thus, there was in reality no guarantee for the future; the situation was simply that of an uncertain conquest, made by the force of arms only, and which was to be retained by that same force alone. Such at least was my impression. But it was not the King's; he hoped for very different results, and thought to succeed by conciliating the Spaniards and admitting none but them to the more important

posts. Several persons who had constant access to him endeavoured to foster these illusions ; and victory, too, at the beginning of his reign seemed to favour the hopes of the King. Saragossa surrendered, after a terrible siege, on the 21st of February, 1809.* Two days later General Sebastiani † defeated and scattered, between Madridejos and Consuegra, a Spanish force which was advancing under the Duke del Infantado towards the Tagus ; and four weeks after this, on the 28th of March, the Duke de Belluna gained an important victory over the Spanish army, which had assembled again under General Cuesta. The battle was fought in Estramadura, near the Guadiana, between Don Benito and Medelin ; the latter gave its name to the day.

The Spaniards lost 7000 men ; 3000 were taken prisoners. At the same time, a corps, commanded by the Duke d'Urbino, that was advancing on Toledo, was defeated near Ciudad-Real by General Sebastiani, and its scattered remnant took refuge in the Sierra-Morena. Thus, by the end of March, the French were masters of the whole of La Mancha and Estramadura. This succession of victories, and the accounts from Germany announcing the first triumphs of the Emperor over the Austrians, could

* The reader will find some details of that memorable siege in the Appendix to this chapter.

† He had succeeded Marshal Lefebvre in the command of the 4th division of the army.

not fail to make some impression on the population of Madrid, and at the same time gave confidence to Joseph's Government, which began to act with increased decision. The King created a Council of State, composed of thirty members, all Spaniards, to which, however, I was afterwards summoned, as was M. Ferri-Pisani, who, like me, was made a Councillor of State, although we were both French. The King wished to avail himself of the experience we had acquired in the administration of affairs, in support of certain projects which he was maturing, and which were founded on the principles adopted in France. Our usefulness being the cause of our appointment, and the conviction of our colleagues that neither of us had the smallest pretensions to more exalted posts, justified our nomination in their eyes.

The Government being thus organised, its earliest efforts were devoted to the recruitment of the finances. It sought to raise revenues for the State by the sale of the national property, under which denomination the property of the monks was included. This was in fact the only operation by which Spain could restore her credit, and even at the present time it is her only means of so doing. But the Ministers, all Spaniards, and unaccustomed to the abrupt changes which the Revolution had made familiar to us in France, could only enter slowly and with

difficulty on these unknown paths, and much precious time was wasted in discussion. Nevertheless they worked hard, they endeavoured to inspire confidence, they offered opportunities to lovers of novelty, and a welcome was given to all who had any experience or judgment. They made use of the smallest events to endeavour to consolidate the new Government. Russia had accredited the Baron de Mohrenheim as *Chargé d'Affaires*, until the arrival of a Minister Plenipotentiary, and Denmark had sent fresh letters of credit to Count Burke, her Minister at Madrid. This recognition by two Powers, one of whom had so much political influence in Europe, was a great event for us, and we received the diplomats with as much ceremony as circumstances would permit.

We did our very best to emerge from the state of convulsion in which the nation had been kept for the last two years. Some token of submission from the towns which had been entered by the French, a few deputations which formally presented themselves, gave the Government opportunities of asserting itself, and the newspapers opportunities for articles that established its existence.

But all these efforts, although they were, in general, wisely made, and tended to a desirable end, went to pieces against two insurmountable obstacles. The first was the resistance of the nation, which had

not been conquered either by the defeat of the troops of the Junta, or by the departure of the English, and the second was the system that the Emperor had adopted with regard to the affairs of Spain, and by which the ill feeling between the brothers was wrought up to the highest pitch. As all the letters written by the King to his brother passed under my eyes, I soon became aware of this dangerous rupture, and foresaw its fatal consequences. It began as follows. The more or less sincere reconciliation which had taken place at Pardo, at the time of the Emperor's departure in pursuit of the English, seemed to have restored a good understanding between the brothers. But it did not last long. Napoleon, when replacing authority in the hands of Joseph, had only parted with it nominally; he had retained its reality. The King soon perceived this by the conduct of the Generals and French Agents who had remained in Spain, and his annoyance was extreme. He complained bitterly in his letters of the independence of him assumed by all these persons. The strong expressions he used, the threats, and even the personal invective which he frequently added to his complaints, roused the Emperor's resentment, for he could not endure that a King made by himself should affect a tone of equality, and venture to speak as a sovereign. All correspondence soon ceased between them, or at

least the Emperor no longer replied to the letters which he received from his brother. He transmitted his orders directly to the commandants of the French troops in Spain, and several arrangements which were very hurtful to Joseph, alike as King and Commander-in-chief, were prescribed and executed without his participation, often indeed without his knowledge.

Then, again, the French, who had reckoned on the King's gratitude and favours, were jealous of the preference for the Spaniards which he invariably exhibited, and rejoiced at the affronts heaped upon him by the Emperor. Everything seemed influenced by this malignant state of feeling. No measure of internal administration, no financial expedient, could succeed, because the pretensions of French administrators interfered with them. Before anything else was provided for, the French army must be paid and provisioned, and on this pretext, all the public money was claimed or even seized in advance. Ordering, regulating, taking or destroying all things at their pleasure in their respective provinces, these administrators not only ignored the authority of the King's officers, but even forbade subordinates to recognise it. A still more fatal spirit of independence among the military was openly established and soon brought the evil to a climax.

As the Emperor had quitted Spain without leaving

instructions or even general directions for the conduct of the war, each Commander of an army-corps carried it on independently and according to his own ideas. The King's authority was indeed supreme; he was the Emperor's lieutenant, and, by right of this title, Commander of all the armies in Spain; but he could not exercise his command. Marshal Jourdan, his Major-General, who had won experience and fame by brilliant successes during the first years of the Revolution, had long been a stranger to military affairs. He had had no share in the glory of the latter wars, and was not among the generals who had served under Napoleon in Italy, Egypt, and Germany. Consequently, he did not possess the influence necessary for controlling exaggerated pretensions, and concentrating the actual power in his own hands. His extreme caution and his dread of offending the Emperor, whom he knew to be ill-disposed towards him, added to the difficulty of his position, and to the inefficiency of the King's Commander-in-chief.*

* It seems difficult to suppose that the indifference shown by the Emperor to Marshal Jourdan could be caused by any feeling of jealousy; yet the following circumstance might lead to that conclusion. King Joseph, who had always entertained a great affection for Marshal Jourdan, requested his brother, when he conferred the title of Duke of Valmy on Kellerman, to make Marshal Jourdan Duke of Fleurus. "I shall do nothing of the kind," replied the Emperor, angrily, "I should be making him greater than myself."

With materials such as these, it was not possible to build up a stable and lasting edifice. The hopes that had been raised by a few months of repose, and by our continued military successes, quickly vanished, and the position of the French in Spain soon became more critical than ever.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.



THE SECOND SIEGE OF SARAGOSSA.

This fortified city, that has become famous by sustaining two sieges within the short space of six months, had been invested for the second time immediately after the battle of Tudela. The army corps commanded by Marshal Moncey invested it, on the 27th of November, 1808. The entire population of the town were in arms, and a considerable number of peasants from all parts of Arragon had voluntarily shut themselves up within it. There were in all fifty thousand armed men, and abundant stores of provisions. General Palafox was in command, and his steadfastness and self-devotion were not less admirable under this second trial than in the first. The town is situated on the right bank of the Ebro, and communicates by a bridge with a suburb on the left bank. It thus commands the course of the river. Its position is of considerable strength, but there are no regular fortifications. The courage and constancy of the inhabitants would have to compensate for the absence of artificial means of defence.

For some time the French flattered themselves that the reverses just sustained by Spanish troops, the occupation of Madrid, the departure of the English, in short, all the events of an unsuccessful war, would make some impression on the minds of the inhabitants, and would shake their constancy. In hopes of this, free communication was allowed, and care was taken that military reports and newspapers should enter the town. Not the slightest change ensued. The defenders of Saragossa were filled with

supernatural confidence by their belief in the special protection of the Virgin,* and thought themselves invincible. Summonses to surrender, and proposals of capitulation, were rejected. The threat that the town would be treated as a place taken by storm, and that the inhabitants should be put to the sword, was answered by fresh vows to defend it to the last extremity, and to be buried under its ruins rather than to yield. These vows were almost literally fulfilled.

When all hope of conciliation was over, the work of the siege commenced, and was steadily pushed forward under Marshal Lannes who had succeeded Marshal Moncey.

The month of December was passed in gaining possession of the approaches to the town, and the exterior defences. The Spanish forces were successively dislodged from all their outposts, and reduced to the defence of the town and its suburbs only. During these various attacks, the engines of the siege, the greater part of which had been sent from Pampeluna, arrived.

The first parallel was opened on the night of the 29th of December. During the next month an advance was made, and breaching batteries were constructed.

At last, on January the 26th, the batteries were unmasked, and the attack was begun. The French firing soon silenced that of the besieged. So soon as the breaches were practicable, the French scaled the walls intrepidly and seized on the openings of some streets. But they met with greater obstacles within the town than those they had overcome to enter it. Every house was a fortress, and at every corner there was a battery that had to be stormed; while a murderous and well-directed fire stopped the French at each step. At distances so short, artillery became useless; the sappers and miners had to be called upon, and house after house was blown up in succession. Communications from one street to another involved regular works, and much labour. This subterranean warfare lasted twenty days, and one third of the town was a heap of ruins, yet the besieged gave no sign of yielding. At last, the

* Saragossa is under the special protection of the Virgin, called here the *Virgen del Pilar*, because the miraculous image of the Virgin is placed on the summit of a pillar. The annals of Saragossa are full of miracles worked by the Virgin in favour of the inhabitants.

Marshal having given orders to seize the suburb on the left bank of the Ebro, so as to shell the town throughout its extent, and this attack having been successful, the endurance of the inhabitants gave way at last. The garrison was confined within and restricted to the small island of houses which includes the church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, the only one still standing. In this extremity, the Junta of the town demanded to capitulate; but Marshal Lannes refused his consent, and finally, on the 21st of February, the French, pressing their advantage, occupied the whole town, which was forced to surrender at discretion. On the whole, the conqueror used his victory with moderation; two monks only were shot. The garrison surrendered and were sent as prisoners into France. Those soldiers who consented to take an oath of allegiance to King Joseph were set at liberty. A small number took advantage of this. General Palafox was dangerously ill when the town fell into the power of the French. He was taken to Bayonne, thence to Paris, and imprisoned at Vincennes.

Thus ended the second siege of Saragossa; after lasting nearly three months. History offers few examples of so obstinate a defence. Of the numerous troops composing the garrison when the siege began, only 15,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry laid down their arms before the French; 20,000 men had perished, 13,000 were in the hospitals. The interior of the town presented a sickening spectacle. The public buildings, churches, and houses, were crumbling into ruin. Infectious fevers had broken out in the hospitals, and in those quarters of the town where the non-combatant portion of the inhabitants had been crowded together. There were five or six hundred deaths daily, and the dead bodies, heaped up on the steps and entrances of the churches, often remained exposed for several days before they could be buried. An ominous silence reigned in the deserted streets. The very victors shrank from entering the town, and Saragossa, though conquered, still threatened her conquerors with death. From time to time a few inhabitants might be discerned among the ruins, wrapped in their cloaks, and scarcely daring to accost each other; but when they met, one name, uttered in accents of the deepest grief, broke the silence: it was Jesus!

Saragossa long remained uninhabited. The troops and the administration established themselves outside the walls. The garrison was relieved every day.

This melancholy and bloody conquest was nevertheless a very important one to the French. Saragossa subsequently became the centre of their military operations in Arragon, and the key of the nearest communication with France, by way of Jaca, a town situated at the entrance to the mountains, of which they possessed themselves shortly afterwards.

CHAPTER XII.

A second English army lands at Lisbon, and forces Marshal Soult to evacuate Portugal, and fall back, with Marshal Ney, on Astorga and Salamanca—The Junta brings two new armies into the field, intended to co-operate with the English—At the same time the Junta adopts the system of guerilla warfare—The King at the head of the fourth army corps marches against General Venegas, who declines battle and retires to the Sierra Morena—The guerillas advance to the gates of Madrid—The English succeed in joining the army of General Cuesta, and march against the Duke of Belluna—The King leaves Madrid to proceed to the headquarters of the latter—His departure creates great alarm in the capital—Retreat of Cuesta and the English after the battle of Talavera—Defeat of Venegas at the battle of Almonacid—The King returns to Madrid on August 15—Suppression of the Monasteries—Government Reforms—The King makes an excursion to San Ildefonso and to Segovia—Description of these places—Return of the King to Madrid—His efforts to improve the Governmental system are rendered vain by the enmity of the nation—The Emperor is displeased with the conduct of the war in Spain—A fresh army levied by the Junta and commanded by General Arizaga, appears in La Mancha, and marches on Madrid—It is dispersed near Ocaña by the King—General Kellerman defeats another Spanish army commanded by the Duke del Parque, at Alba de Tormes—The King resolves to undertake the conquest of Andalusia.

IN conformity with the treaty of alliance concluded in January 1809, between England and the

Central Junta at Seville, in the name of Ferdinand VII., the British Government despatched a second army to the Peninsula, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which reached Lisbon on the 22nd of April. Before this, General Lord Beresford had, with the assistance of some English officers, organized and put into the field a considerable body of Portuguese troops, while the Spanish Junta also prepared to recommence the struggle. General Cuesta was gathering together on the frontiers of Estramadura and Andalusia an army partly composed of the remnants of the troops that had been defeated at Medelin. General Venegas, at the head of another force, was at the foot of the Sierra Morena, ready to enter La Mancha.

At the same time that these fresh troops took the field, the Supreme Junta issued a decree from Seville, in which, in a practical spirit, it authorized a land raid on the French and set up that famous system of guerilla-warfare, which afterwards assumed such alarming proportions. By this decree, it was enjoined on all the inhabitants of the provinces occupied by the French, to fall upon the soldiery when few in number, to attack them, to seize their arms and accoutrements, and either to take them prisoners, or to put them to death. This barbarous course of action being conformable both to the character and habits of the nation was adopted

without difficulty. It intercepted all our lines of communication, and obliged us to provide an escort for everything we sent forward, and was the origin of the guerilla-bands, which, under daring leaders, caused us losses a hundredfold greater than those inflicted on us by the regular troops of Spain.

The Spanish Generals had the audacity to send heralds to our advanced posts, requesting that these land-pirates should, when taken with arms in their hands, be treated as prisoners of war. This demand was rejected; but when the number and the importance of the guerillas had so greatly increased that reprisals were to be feared, the point was tacitly yielded.

Since the embarkation of the English at Corunna in January, two army corps, the 2nd, commanded by Marshal Soult, and the 6th, commanded by Marshal Ney, had occupied Galicia. Another corps, the 5th, under Marshal Mortier, which had recently arrived in Spain, was at Valladolid, one division being at Santander. At the end of February, Marshal Soult left Corunna at the head of his corps, and marched towards the Portuguese frontier, leaving to Marshal Ney the final subjugation of Galicia, the principal places, such as Vigo-el-Ferrol, Santiago and others, having already fallen into the hands of the French. He crossed the Minho at Orense, took

possession of Chavès on the Tamega in the Portuguese province of Tras-los-Montes, and arrived before the walls of Oporto on the 29th of March, without having encountered any serious obstacles. The garrison, although very strong, made but slight resistance, and the town surrendered almost without striking a blow. The Marshal took up his quarters there, and occupied the fortresses of Tuy on the right bank of the Minho, and of Viana on the Lima, so as to secure communication with the 6th corps; but on the Lisbon side he scarcely advanced farther than the Vouga.

During his residence at Oporto, which in wealth and in the importance of its trade is the second city in the Kingdom, the Marshal, if rumour may be believed, assumed the position of a sovereign rather than that of a general at the head of troops of which the command has been given to him by a superior; and his behaviour gave rise to the supposition that he had entertained the idea of setting up an independent kingdom of his own in that part of Portugal.* The correspondence that he kept up by means of secret agents in Lisbon, and the interior of the country, and the skill with which he attracted a certain number of partisans among the Portuguese, first originated and then confirmed those rumours

* Since the elevation of Murat to the throne of Naples, more than one Marshal of France cherished hopes of similar exaltation.

which naturally found an echo in Paris. But it was impossible just then to dispense with Marshal Soult's presence in Spain, and it is probable that the need of himself and of his services saved him from disgrace or even from a still greater danger.*

The English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley left Coïmbra towards the end of April and crossed the Vouga early in May. After driving back the French outposts on that river, the English attacked the French on the 7th of May before Oporto on the left bank of the Douro, and forced them to recross the river and to evacuate the town. At the same time General Beresford had advanced with the Portuguese army to the Upper Douro to support the English towards the north, and by possessing

* The *Moniteur* of January 14, 1809, contains the following paragraph on the subject of the suspicions entertained against Marshal Soult :

“Some injurious reports have been spread concerning the Duke of Dalmatia. We are authorised to state that these reports are malicious and unfounded. His Majesty continues to rely on the fidelity and attachment of the Duke of Dalmatia, and has given him a fresh proof of confidence by appointing him Major-General of his army in Spain.”

Had the Marshal succeeded in pushing onwards, and had he succeeded in driving the English from Portugal, it is hard to say to what point the ambitious designs attributed to him might have led this man, who united with a high military reputation the faculty of interesting his officers and men in his personal fortunes. The events of war, however, as will be seen, put an end to the ambitious projects, of which, rightly or wrongly, the Duke of Dalmatia was accused.

himself of the fortress of Chavès, had cut off communications between the second army corps and Galicia. Marshal Soult's position now became extremely critical. He escaped from it by a daring measure. He destroyed all his artillery and heavy baggage, and entering on the almost impassable defiles of Salamonda, he succeeded on the 20th of May, with great difficulty and considerable loss, less in men than in material, in gaining Orense, and his communications with Marshal Ney at Vigo. The two army corps even when united were not, however, strong enough to hold their own in the provinces of the Asturias and Galicia, where the whole population under the lead of the guerilla chiefs, Marquerito, and Ballesteros, had taken up arms against the French. The two Marshals retreated, Ney to Astorga, and Soult as far as Salamanca. Such was the issue of the second expedition against Portugal—nearly as unfortunate as the first under General Junot, and a presage of the still more fatal one that was to follow.

While the Dukes of Dalmatia and Elchingen were thus relinquishing our conquests in the west of the Peninsula, and their retreat was leaving the English free to advance by the most direct road from Portugal to Madrid, with no enemy to fight, the Spanish armies under Cuesta and Venegas began to march towards the left bank of the Tagus, and to threaten

the capital. The French troops that could be brought against them, and that were then occupying La Mancha and the valley of the Tagus, consisted of the 1st corps under Marshal Victor; of the 4th under General Sebastiani, and of the Reserve, formed in great part of the Royal Guard and which was stationed at Madrid and in its environs. Marshal Victor had about 30,000 men under his orders and General Sebastiani between 7,000 and 8,000; the Reserve might be reckoned at 5,000 or 6,000 men; in all 40,000 or 45,000. And although the Spanish forces might be computed at above 60,000 men, the superiority was not so great that we might not hope for success. The King left Madrid on the 22nd of June and joined the 4th corps, which was occupying La Mancha, while the 1st remained to watch Cuesta at Talavera de la Reyna. The King and General Sebastiani marched on Venegas; but at their first move, the Spaniards retreated rapidly to the Sierra-Morena, and the French could only pursue them as far as Santa-Cruz-de-Mudela, at the foot of that mountain-chain. Thus, there was no engagement; the Spaniards waited for the advance of the English, and would risk nothing until they had joined them.

The King returned to Madrid on the 13th of July, after a fruitless campaign of three weeks. He found the capital much disturbed; the hopes of his enemies

had revived, and consternation reigned among his followers. Numerous bands of guerillas roamed through the country, often approaching the very gates of the city. General Franceschi de Lonne, one of the most distinguished officers in the army,* and Antoine, a youthful nephew of the king, aide-de-camp to Marshal Soult, had been taken prisoners by one of these bands.

On the 21st of July, an aide-de-camp from Marshal Victor brought news to Madrid that Sir Arthur Wellesley had effected a junction with General Cuesta, at Oropesa, and that the two armies were advancing together on the 1st corps. The King started immediately, and proceeded by way of Naval-Carnero to Casallegar, where were the head-quarters of the Duke of Belluna. His departure caused the greatest alarm to the French families in Madrid, and to the families of those Spaniards who had espoused his cause. The alarm of the latter was so great, that the utmost entreaties of General Belliard, Governor of Madrid, and of the French ambassador, barely sufficed to prevent the ministers from leaving the city, and joining the King's head-quarters.

Meanwhile, the fortifications of Buen-Retiro were

* In addition to his military talents, he was a clever sculptor and draughtsman. I shall have occasion, hereafter, to refer to him and his melancholy fate.

being strengthened; but these very precautions instead of allaying the fears of the French, served only to increase them. Each day was passed in alarm, and there was great danger of a rising in the city. On July 26th especially, the most alarming rumours were abroad. It was reported that the King had been defeated, that he had been obliged to surrender, and that the English would enter Madrid during the day. An immense crowd assembled near the palace, and in the direction of the Segovia and Toledo Bridges to see them arrive. There was no disturbance, but the delight of the inhabitants was noisily expressed, and universal gaiety prevailed. This was the state of things when a courier, arriving at 3 a.m. on the 27th, brought accounts of a partial victory gained over the enemy on the previous day at the Guadarrama Pass, and informed us that the King had effected a junction with the 1st and 4th army corps. This news partly quelled the disturbance of the day before, and the danger of our position seemed to be averted. But the lull was of brief duration. On the evening of the 29th General Belliard warned me that there was not a moment to lose before removing my family to Buen-Retiro. We had to set about a hurried move, put up our most valuable belongings, and collect together all that could be saved. When these unpleasant tasks were accomplished, and that

my family were in safety, at least for a time, I returned to Madrid where I passed a very restless night.

The following were the grounds of alarm. General Belliard was acquainted with the particulars of the battle of the preceding day at Talavera, and he knew it had not been decisive. The enemy occupied a formidable position, and our troops, notwithstanding their impetuosity, had not been able to dislodge them. The English had fought with the utmost bravery, the loss on both sides had been heavy, and the armies had remained in their respective positions.

Meanwhile, the Spanish corps under Venegas, having crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez, was advancing upon us, and might be at Madrid on the next day. We had no troops with which to oppose it, for General Sebastiani's corps, which had been protecting the capital, had, four days before, joined Marshal Victor's to fight at Talavera. In the tumult produced by this alarming news, Buen-Retiro was regarded as a place of safety, if not from the enemy, at least from the fury of the populace, and those who had incurred or feared they had incurred that fury took refuge there in great numbers. It is difficult to describe the state of Madrid on the 30th of July.

From early dawn, a long file of carts, waggons, men, women, and children, on foot and on horseback,

followed by porters carrying bundles, boxes, and beds, crowded the road to Buen-Retiro, and this curious procession lasted for several hours without intermission. In a short time, the limited space which served as a shelter for this crowd of people was full. Men, women and children, huddled together on all sides, vehicles and horses in hideous confusion, presented a terrible spectacle. I saw at once that the means of defence provided for our families were utterly insufficient. Buen-Retiro was, in itself, incapable of resistance, the only portion that was fortified at all was a building formerly reserved for the manufacture of porcelaine, and called *La China*, but this could contain only a few persons. The remainder of Buen-Retiro was as defenceless as any other part of the town. I should have liked to select some other place of refuge for my family, or at least to have removed them to *La China*; but the least movement made by me would have alarmed the other refugees; they would all have wanted to follow me, and wild confusion would have ensued. I therefore had to resign myself to waiting.

The day passed in continual alarm. The gloomiest and at the same time the most contradictory accounts were received in rapid succession. Occasionally more favourable news was made known, and received with the avidity that always accompanies terror. Towards evening, however, more re-

assuring accounts reached us from head-quarters, and a letter written to me by my brother at ten o'clock on the preceding evening, although not completely reassuring, convinced me that our situation was not hopeless. The enemy, according to him, had not been defeated on the 28th (battle of Talavera), but had suffered severely, and had remained in their entrenchments. The 2nd and 3rd corps (Marshal Soult and Marshal Mortier's) were expected every hour. Their total strength amounted to 30,000 men, and having left Salamanca on the 25th of July, they were now believed to be at Placencia on the rear of the English army. This would necessarily oblige the English to retire, so as to escape from being surrounded, and thus General Sebastiani's corps might be detached from that of Marshal Victor, and could march with the Reserve, led by the King, on Toledo and Aranjuez. These united forces, which were sufficient to arrest the march of Venegas, would protect Madrid, and rescue the capital from the danger to which it had been exposed for the last three days.

When these things became known, excessive alarm was suddenly succeeded by excessive confidence, and although there could as yet be no certainty as to the results of these movements, everyone was in the evening as eager to leave Buen-Retiro as they had been to come there in the morning. Positive orders from

General Belliard were necessary to check this exodus during the night. On the following day, 31st of July, firing was heard in the direction of Toledo; a Spanish force was attacking that city on the left bank of the Tagus, but Madrid remained undisturbed. A large number of wounded soldiers, from the engagement of the 28th, arrived during the day. Lastly, on the 1st of August, the steps taken to protect the capital having obliged Venegas to renounce his intention of marching on Madrid, all those who had taken refuge at Buen-Retiro returned to the city. A momentary lull succeeded to a state of extreme disturbance, and for two days profound quiet reigned at Madrid. But, as the English had not relinquished their positions near Talavera, and Marshal Soult had not made his appearance on the Tagus, and the campaign was far from being decided, the King thought it well to prevent the repetition of scenes such as had just taken place in Madrid, by removing the families of all the French and Spanish in his service from that city, and sending them to San Ildefonso. I received orders to that effect in the evening of the 3rd of August, and the succeeding day was employed in preparation for this unexpected removal, which gave rise to fresh alarm and agitation. The carriages intended for the journey to San Ildefonso drew up in the evening, and on the 5th, at daybreak, the departure took place. Among the travellers were the French Ambassador,

the Danish and Russian Envoys, the Ministers, the Councillors of State, the officers of the King's Household, and in fact, everyone in Madrid who was connected with Government. In the meantime, the news from the army had become more and more favourable. Marshal Soult had effected his manœuvre, and the English had begun to retire. Marshal Victor had immediately marched in pursuit, in order to drive them against Soult, so as either to force them to fight under very disadvantageous circumstances, or to retreat on the left bank of the Tagus. The King, with the 4th corps and the Reserve, found himself free to fall upon Venegas and to force him to loose his hold on the country between Aranjuez and Toledo. Thus all cause of alarm about Madrid seemed to be entirely removed, and the retreat to San Ildefonso became, at least for the time, an unnecessary measure. General Belliard, who shared my views on this point, did not, however, venture to defer the execution of the King's orders.

On the same day that the departure to San Ildefonso took place, I left Madrid to join the King at head-quarters, which had been established on the 5th of August at Val de Moro, half-way between Madrid and Aranjuez. I arrived there in the evening, and found the army in a tolerably favourable position. Venegas had retreated from the right bank of

the Tagus, but was still defending Aranjuez. The King had displayed great personal courage and coolness during the campaign. As for the military operations, I was not in a position to judge of them ; but it was evident that the King, with an army of forty or forty-two thousand men, had withstood more than a hundred thousand in a very restricted space ; that the English had sustained heavy losses, and that, at the moment of my arrival, our affairs were going pretty well.

I remained five days at head-quarters, and accompanied the King to Vargas and thence to Toledo, where he intended to cross the Tagus, and to attack Venegas on the left bank of that river. While this movement was in progress, the King received a courier from Marshals Soult, Mortier, and Victor at Vargas on the 8th of August. The three army corps had joined their forces on the 6th, and the enemy was retiring in disorder over the Arzobispo bridge to the left bank of the Tagus, not having had time to gain the Almaraz bridge. More than four thousand wounded were left behind at Talavera, whom Sir Arthur Wellesley recommended, by a letter to Marshal Victor, to the generosity of the French. The campaign was thus pretty well ended on the Talavera side, and the Spanish corps commanded by Cuesta, which had been present rather as spectators than actors at the battle of Talavera, having likewise

recrossed the Tagus, there was nothing further to interfere with the march of the 4th corps, which crossed the river without opposition at Toledo on the 9th of August. The King having entered that town with the reserve on the same day, all the troops intended for the attack on Venegas began their march: They joined battle with him on the 11th at Almonacid, and gained a signal victory: All the enemy's positions were forced, and the Spanish army, being several times charged by cavalry during its retreat, was completely routed. Two thousand killed, an equal number of prisoners, and the whole of the Spanish artillery, were the trophies of the day, on which Venegas' Corps was almost entirely destroyed, and the remnant took refuge in the Sierra Morena. This short campaign could not have ended more gloriously.

I had left the King at Vargas. He had commanded me to return to Madrid, and to recall thither the families that had been sent to San Ildefonso. I gladly executed this commission, and on the 13th of August the refugees re-entered the capital, where after so many alarms, now happily removed, all was restored to its accustomed order.

The King returned to Madrid on the 15th of August, and repaired to the church of San Isidoro, where a *Te Deum* was sung. It was the fête-day of the Emperor; there were illuminations and fire-works.

A dinner to two hundred guests, at which I did the honours by command, was given in the building called the *Armeria* to the civil and military authorities. At the close of the repast, the King appeared in the Hall, and was received with acclamations by the guests. In the evening, he went to the theatre. But the inhabitants of the town merely looked on at these rejoicings and took no part in them. Their gloom contrasted with the liveliness and activity of the French. However, we had got breathing time, and the favourable issue of recent military events promised us a few months of repose.

The French Ambassador and the Spanish Ministers gave dinners; and every effort was made to efface the remembrance of the terror caused by the movements of the English army. Attempts were even made to persuade the public that no cause for that terror had ever existed, and the retreat of the French and Spanish families to San Ildefonso was represented in the newspapers as merely the usual summer excursion made by the Court to that royal residence. This miserable subterfuge, invented by vanity, deceived no one.

The Government, feeling more at ease, resumed its activity. In a sitting of the Council of State which took place on the 18th of August, several important decrees were discussed and adopted. The gist of them was as follows:

“All the religious houses for men were suppressed. The monks were ordered to return to their places of birth; they were forbidden to wear the religious habit.

“The rank of Grandee of Spain, and all Castilian titles, not confirmed by the King, were abolished.

“The Councils of War, of Marine, of Orders, and other ancient forms of administration, under whatsoever name they might be designated, were suppressed, as were also all the posts not confirmed anew by the King.

“Confiscation of property belonging to Spanish absentees, or to Spaniards serving in the army of the Junta, was decreed; a sum of twenty million reals, taken from the produce of the monastic property, was placed at the disposal of the Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior, to be distributed as indemnity to such persons as had suffered loss by the war, or in payment of the salaries of officials, for which the State could not otherwise have provided, on account of the condition of the Public Treasury.”

These arrangements, and several others tending to the amelioration of the state of the finances, having been made, and promising a greater degree of success than they eventually obtained, the King took advantage of a few days of leisure to visit San Ildefonso and Segovia. I accompanied him on this excursion.

We left Madrid on the 8th of September. The road by which we travelled crosses the Manzanares by the San Fernando Bridge, and follows the Escorial Road in a north-westerly direction so far as the village of Las Rosas. There it divides, the road to the left leading to the Escorial and to the village of Guadarrama; and that to the right, which we followed, taking us to Nava-Cerrada.* It traverses a barren plain, strewn with blocks of granite from which stone has been and is still daily quarried for the buildings of Madrid. After journeying for five hours, we began the ascent of one of the slopes of the Guadarrama range, to reach the puerto of Nava-Cerrada where we were to cross the chain. The road we followed is well planned and well constructed. The mountain is wooded, and its lower slopes are covered with shrubs, among which I remarked the *Cistus ladaniferus*, which diffuses its aromatic scent very widely, and whose large red or white flowers were everywhere to be seen. From the *Venta de Circedilla*,† the ascent to the Puerto is more rapid. This pass is one of the highest

* "The enclosed plain." *Nava* is an Arabic word, which, with many others, has been retained in the Spanish language; but it is generally applied to high plains only, surrounded by mountains, and forming *cols* or *puertos*.

† *Venta*. A sort of inn where travellers find shelter, and may eat and sleep, if they have brought provisions and bedding with them.

in Europe, and almost equals in that respect the passes of Mont Cenis, St. Gothard and the Simplon. But as, in order to reach it, a traveller starts generally speaking, from Madrid, a spot of great altitude, and as the length of the way is very great from Madrid to the highest point of the puerto, its elevation is less perceptible. On the summits of the Guadarrama chain, to the south, there was no snow, but when we reached the puerto, we could perceive some traces still lingering, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year. From this we may conclude that in some parts of the range the snows are perpetual.

After the puerto of Nava-Cerrada has been crossed, there is a very steep descent through a magnificent forest of pine-trees. Several streams of pure water run through this forest, and their confluence gives birth to the Eresma, a beautiful river which has made a bed for itself among the granite rocks, and, after watering a great part of the province of Segovia, runs into the Douro. Two or three hours' journey on this delightful road brought us to San Ildefonso. The palace, one of the most elevated buildings in Europe, was built by Philip V. The architecture is second-rate; the style is that which was fashionable in France under Louis XIV., and which may be seen at Versailles and the Trianon.

The gardens extending to the south and west of San Ildefonso are large, well designed, and adorned with magnificent fountains in marble, bronze and lead; they are remarkable for their water-works. On the whole, the situation of this Royal residence, which also bears the name of la Granja, is picturesque and beautiful. The high mountains by which it is surrounded on all sides impart an appearance of wildness to it, but on the other hand they provide shade, water and promenades, which, under a burning sky and close to the gloomy barrenness of the Castilian plains, are of inestimable value. I wandered through these gardens with the King, and we climbed the mountains to one of the peaks, where the snow was still lying. This excursion, which was rendered delightful by the variety of its views and the freshness of the verdure, occupied nearly six hours.

We stayed three days at San Ildefonso, enjoying a delicious repose that we had not known for many a long day, and started on the 12th of September to return to Madrid by way of Segovia.

Segovia is a very ancient town situated on the Eresma. It was long famous for its manufactures of cloth and other woollen fabrics, and was in old times populous and commercial. But when I was there in 1809, it retained no trace of its former splendour, and offered nothing worthy of a traveller's

attention except its antiquities, especially the fine aqueduct built by the Romans in the reign of Trajan.

This aqueduct spans the valley in which part of the town is situated. It unites the hills on the opposite sides, and brings the waters of the Eresma to the upper part of Segovia. Its height, measured from the lowest part of the valley, is from ninety to ninety-five feet. It consists of two rows of semi-circular arches, one resting on the other. The arches and the pillars supporting them are composed of layers of the grey granite of the country, simply placed on each other without cement. The purity of the design of this aqueduct is admirable, and the lightness of the building is as marvellous as its solidity.

It is difficult, in fact, to understand, how an edifice so fragile in appearance can have resisted the wear and tear of more than seventeen centuries. The most striking view of the aqueduct is obtained from the valley. The pillars, supporting the first row of arches are sixty feet in height, and seen from below, the arches seem almost to be suspended in mid-air.

In short, this aqueduct is one of the finest remains of antiquity, and there are few that can be compared with it either in Italy or Greece.

As we only stayed a few hours in Segovia, I had

not time to visit the Alcazar or the cathedral,* but I shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter.

We left Segovia for Rio-Frio, a hunting-box appertaining to San Ildefonso. On his arrival the King found a Spanish regiment, which had been raised recently, drawn up in battle array on the esplanade of the Castle. This regiment was recruited from prisoners, or deserters from the armies of the Junta, and former servants of Ferdinand VII., whom the officers of the regiment had hired or kidnapped. M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, aide-de-camp to the King, was in command. We saw him at the head of his corps, in a brown uniform with yellow facings, and the red cockade. He put his regiment through its drill, giving the word of command in Spanish, a piece of courtier's flattery which was very pleasing to the King. He expressed his satisfaction to the colonel, and invited him and his principal officers to breakfast. After the breakfast, we resumed our journey to Madrid, and reached the capital on the evening of the 12th of September.

There now occurred in Spain a suspension of military operations. After the campaign of Talavera

* *Al Cazar*, an Arab word, signifying the palace, the fortress. This name was generally given to the residences of the Moorish kings in Spain, and after their expulsion it was retained in Southern Spain.

the English had retreated to the frontiers of Portugal, and the Spaniards, not having yet recouped their losses at Almonacid did not venture to show on this side of the Sierra Morena. While the truce lasted, the King took an active part in the Government of the interior. I have already mentioned the measures taken by him before his departure for San Ildefonso. Many others were also discussed and adopted on his return. A new order of chivalry was instituted, to take the place of the former ones, which, with the exception of that of the Golden Fleece,* had all been suppressed by a previous decree. A system of public education was established on the basis of that which had been adopted in France. The right of sanctuary, which still existed in Spain, was abolished. A number of other administrative measures, generally speaking in harmony with the ideas which then prevailed in Europe, succeeded to these, but they invariably failed of their intended effect. Those that were of a severe character aroused resentment, and indulgence was met with ingratitude. For example, the abolition of the religious orders was desired by every right-thinking man in Spain; the influence of the monks was greatly diminished even among the lower classes;

* When the Emperor heard that the King had retained the Order of the Golden Fleece, he instituted that of the *Three Golden Fleeces*, which, however, was never distributed.

then suppression was an indisputable benefit; yet that measure was severely censured, and the monks were pitied because the hand that struck at them was abhorred. Public opinion was inexorable; it rejected everything coming from us, even benefits.

Thus the King, his Ministers and his Councillors spent themselves in fruitless labours. Nothing answered their expectations, and the worst danger to the Government, the void in the Public Treasury, showed no sign of diminution. On the contrary, the financial distress increased every day, and the unpleasant means to which we were forced to have recourse, in order to supply the never-ceasing wants of the army, completely alienated the people from us.

We were not much more fortunate in Paris. The Emperor, conqueror of Austria, who was then concluding a peace soon to be cemented by an alliance with a grand-daughter of Maria Theresa, considered that the military operations in Spain did not correspond with the greatness of his designs. He was far from sharing the satisfaction of Madrid. He detested blunders in the campaign, and disapproved of the haste with which the enemy had been attacked at Talavera, and of the tactics of the engagement. His displeasure was perceptible even in the reports he caused to be published, and in the notes he appended to them, though he did not hesitate to

represent the general result of the campaign as favourable to the French arms, and full of confidence on this account, he renewed his pledge that he would hoist his eagles on the towers of Lisbon.*

But his rebukes and his criticisms were not addressed directly to his brother. As I have already stated, he had ceased to write to King Joseph. They were expressed in the correspondence between his Ministers and the Generals of the army. Neither honour nor favour was granted to the troops who had fought at Talavera and at Almonacid. Marshal Jourdan sent in his resignation. It was accepted, and Marshal Soult succeeded him as Major-General to the King.† At about this time it was announced that the Emperor, being free from anxiety in Germany, was returning to Spain. At the end of October the King sent several officers of his household to meet him,‡ and new political arrangements were spoken of by which the Emperor would wear the Spanish crown, and would send his brother to Milan. But if the project of once more changing the destiny of Spain had really occurred to the Emperor at this time, other cares diverted him

* See the *Moniteur* of September 28, 1809, and February 11, 1810.

† He arrived at Madrid on November 5.

‡ General Stolz, First Equerry, the Marquis de Casapalacio, one of his aides-de-camp, and the Marquis de Montehermoso, First Chamberlain.

from it, and subsequently time failed for carrying it into execution. The peace with Austria brought no change to our position in Spain. We were left to our own resources and it was not long before we were obliged to make use of them all.

The harmony and mutual understanding which alone could ensure success to the combined armies of our adversaries, had no existence between the English and the Spaniards, and the tardiness of Sir Arthur Wellesley's movements after the expulsion of the French from Portugal, is explained in great part, at least, by the want of concord between the military leaders of the two nations. After the battle of Talavera, and the defeat of Venegas at Almonacid, there was an increase of distrust, and the ill-humour that followed on ill-success made the intercourse between them still more strained and difficult. From that time the English ceased to make common cause with the Spaniards, and applied themselves solely to preserving their line of communication with Portugal, where their ships and their supplies were. During the three months which followed the battle of Talavera, Lord Wellington * took no part in the operations of the Spaniards, and kept his army in

* On August 16, 1809, the British Government had created Sir Arthur Wellesley, Baron Wellesley of Douro, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera.

The titles successively conferred on him by the Government in recognition of his services, are as follows :

cantonments between Mérida and Badajoz, until the French once more began to threaten Portugal. This conduct was in conformity with the principles acted on during the whole war in Spain by the English Government, for it would be an error to attribute its efforts in the Spanish cause to that feeling of generosity which it is natural to suppose would impel a nation to go to the assistance of another when unjustly attacked. The real aim of the English in supporting the Spaniards was to enfeeble France, and the real spoils of victory, if they obtained it, was the subjugation of Portugal. The liberty, the independence, the prosperity of Spain, the restoration of Ferdinand VII., were the least of their motives, or, to speak more correctly, were only the pretext for their enterprise. We must therefore always refer the movements of the English to this two-fold end ; that of doing as much harm as possible to the French, and that of becoming masters of Portugal. Starting from these premises, everything is easily explained : the delay of the English General in his march towards the Tagus, the indifference he displayed to the fate of the Spanish army after the battle of Talavera, his haste to approach Portugal,

February 18, 1812, Earl of Wellington.

August 18, 1812, Marquis of Wellington.

And, finally, May 3, 1815, Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington.

and his immobility during the remainder of the campaign, and during the conquest of Andalusia, which took place in the following year.

The Spaniards, however, though left in some sort to themselves, appeared in no wise alarmed at their isolation. Their confidence seemed rather to gather strength. They believed that their armies, when entirely unfettered, would accomplish alone what they had failed to achieve in conjunction with the English.

The Junta of Seville had raised a new army as if by magic. Fifty thousand men, well equipped, and well armed, with a strong force of artillery, had assembled at the foot of the Sierra-Morena, under General Arizaga, who had succeeded Venegas. In the beginning of November, this force made its appearance on this side of the mountains, and, advancing across the plains of La Mancha, where it met with no opposition, came to the banks of the Tagus, marching on Madrid. The opportunity had been well-chosen for this movement, to which the dispersion of our forces was favourable.* The Second Corps, which since Marshal Soult's appointment as Major-General had been under the command of General Regnier, was occupying that portion of

* The Spaniards were so certain of success, that they had brought to Seville with them a company of actors, who had prepared a play to celebrate the entry of their army into Madrid.

Estramadura lying between the Tagus and Truxillo. The First Corps, under Marshal Victor, had been drawn out on our left as far as Cuença, and an order to return to the Tagus, of which M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was bearer, was delivered too late to be executed in time. These two corps were the most numerous. The Fourth and Fifth, occupying Toledo, Aranjuez, and the environs of Madrid, and forming, together with the Royal Guard, a total of twenty to twenty-four thousand men, marched against the enemy, who were already holding the bridges on the Tagus and on the Jarama. The King and Marshal Soult left Madrid on November 18th, and passed the night at Aranjuez, which the enemy had abandoned on our approach, to take up a stronger position behind Ocaña at the entrance of the plain of La Mancha. Their front was covered by a deep ravine, which encircles the town for three quarters of its circumference.

Arizaga's army was attacked on the 19th by the French, who gained a most complete victory; 20,000 prisoners, fifty guns, and thirty flags, fell into the hands of the victors. I was informed of this the next day, by a courier who brought me the following note:

“Monsieur le Comte de Melito: The Junta's army is completely destroyed. Your son-in-law* distin-

* Colonel Jamin, commanding a regiment of light cavalry in the guards. A charge made by his troop had contributed to the defeat of the enemy.

guished himself. I am very well. Your affectionate JOSEPH. Dos Barrios,* November 19th, 1809."

The prisoners taken on that day were sent to Madrid, and quartered at the Buen-Retiro, where they arrived in succession. The first column, consisting of more than 16,000 men, entered the town on the 22nd of November. A large number of the inhabitants had gone beyond the gates to meet it, so as to convince themselves of its existence, for the people of Madrid still doubted the reality of the defeat. The spectacle seemed to make some impression, and the kindness shown by the King towards the prisoners, who were treated with the utmost humanity, awakened some gratitude just at first. But the national hatred and enmity towards the French soon got the upper hand, and neither our victory nor the moderation with which we used it could gain for us any popularity.

The fortune of war, meanwhile, continued favourable to us. At Alba de Tormès, General Kellerman gained a decisive advantage over the troops of the Duke del Parque, who had advanced from Ciudad-Rodrigo towards Salamanca, where he had crossed the river in order to reach Valladolid, and to cut off the communications in that direction between Madrid and France.

This force was completely defeated on the 28th of

* A village of la Mancha, two leagues south of Ocaña.

November, and was wholly scattered. In consequence of that success, the French entered Salamanca. From thence they began to threaten the frontiers of Portugal, whither, after the loss of the battle of Ocaña, the English had withdrawn in order to protect Lisbon, leaving the Spaniards to their own resources.

Thus, on the whole, this troubled year ended more auspiciously than it had commenced. The recent military operations had come to a successful end, and the tranquillity of Madrid was ensured, at least for a time. Yet our troubles were far from being over. Public feeling was still against us, and the blood that had been so profusely shed during the year had effected no change in our favour. We had conquered, but we had not convinced. After the disaster at Ocaña, the Seville Junta still spoke in the same tone as before the defeat of the Spanish army. Thus we had to expect the continuance of a struggle, which time, and events, even those favourable to us, did but intensify.

As to our relations with France, the same uncertainty still prevailed about the intentions of the Emperor. His obstinate silence on the King's course of action, and on the recent successes, portended real or pretended displeasure, which he held in reserve, so that he might adopt the line most conducive to his own interest.

Meanwhile, it became necessary, in spite of the

Emperor's silence, and in the absence of all direction from him in the conduct of the war, to adopt a plan of campaign. There was no longer an enemy between the Douro and the Sierra Morena. The two Castilles, La Mancha, and Estramadura, with the exception of the stronghold of Badajoz, were occupied by the French. A formidable expedition was in preparation against the English in Portugal.

A considerable army-corps was advancing on Valencia from Catalonia and Arragon, while troops, whose spirits had been raised by recent victory, were assembled on the Tagus. Was it desirable to leave these forces in inaction until the result of the expedition against Portugal and that of General Sechet's march on Valencia should be known? or, would it not be well to make use of the enthusiasm of the troops in order to attempt the conquest of Andalusia? Such was the question that called for a solution in Madrid, since the Emperor would not decide it in Paris. The first alternative was the more prudent, the more in conformity with the true rules of warfare, which ordain that the centre body of an army shall not advance while the wings that should cover it remain behind. This was the counsel given by a few persons, who endeavoured to press it on the King. The other was more dashing: supposing it to be successful it offered an opportunity for glory, and if the Junta could be dispersed, and possession of Cadiz

obtained, it might complete the conquest of Spain, and end the war by a single blow. The latter alternative, which was flattering to ambitious hopes, had, therefore, more numerous supporters than the former, and the King's inclinations evidently leant to that side. It prevailed, and the expedition to Andalusia was resolved on, at the end of December 1809, and was begun in the early part of January 1810. Marshal Soult, who, as I have every reason to believe, was also inclined in the same direction, and on whom, in his capacity of Major-General, the carrying out of the expedition would devolve, declined to undertake it without a formal written order from the King, which would exonerate the Marshal in the case of failure. The King consented to give him this, and wrote to the Emperor, explaining his motives for the expedition. Marshal Soult also wrote, but to their letters, or at any rate to that of the King, no reply was made.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure of the King for the Andalusian Expedition—Having passed through Toledo, Madridejos, etc., he arrives at Almagro, where he joins Marshal Victor with the First Corps and where military operations are commenced—The army, the centre formed by the Fifth Corps and the Reserve, and the right and left wings by the First and the Fourth Corps, enters the passes of the Sierra-Morena, and takes possession of them without great opposition—It advances by way of la Carolina, Baylen, and Andujar, and occupies Cordova, where the King is well received by the inhabitants—Description of the principal buildings of Cordova—The colonies of Andalusia—On reaching Carmona, the King, instead of marching directly on Cadiz to surprise the Junta there, resolves to pass through Seville—He is warmly received by the inhabitants of that city, the capital of Andalusia—This gives him confidence, and he thanks the army in an emphatic order of the day—Seville, its public buildings and its environs—The summons sent to Cadiz by the Duke of Belluna having produced no effect, the King leaves Seville, and proceeds by way of Utrera and Xerez to Puerto-Santa-Maria—Attempts to enter into negotiation with the Junta of Cadiz are repulsed, and the necessity of a siege in form is recognized—The King, after visiting the town of San Lucar, returns to Xerez, and thence takes the road for Ronda and Malaga—Enthusiasm excited among the people by Joseph's entry into the latter town—Antequera and its antiquities—Cueva de Minga—The

King's entry into Grenada—Description of that city, and its buildings—Jaen and its ancient Cathedral—Return of the King to Andujar, and end of the Andalusian expedition.

THE Central Junta at Seville, which by its presumption and improvidence had sacrificed the most valuable resources of unhappy Spain at Ocaña, and which was the spectator and in great part the author of the disasters to her army, was beginning to tremble. Before the battle of Ocaña, when still full of confidence, the Junta had endeavoured to counterbalance, by a manifesto addressed to the nation, the impression that would be produced in Spain by the conclusion of peace between Austria and France.

“Our enemies,” so runs the proclamation,* “in announcing the conclusion of peace in Germany, already threaten us with the powerful reinforcements that are advancing to complete our ruin. Puffed up by the favourable issue to their policy in the North, they insolently exhort us to submit ourselves to the clemency of the Conqueror, and to bow our heads beneath his yoke.

“No, vile slaves of Bonaparte! placed as we are between ignominy and death, what choice would you have us make except that of defending ourselves to the last extremity? Continue to plunder, to rob, to

* This is dated November 21; but when publishing it, the Junta did not yet know of the defeat of Arizaga, which took place on the 19th.

massacre, to destroy, as you have been doing for the last twenty months; increase the enmity towards you, the thirst for revenge which we shall always feel; never will we fall at the feet of the crowned slave whom Bonaparte has sent us for a King.

“That Spain should be free, is the desire of the whole nation. Let Spain be free, or let her become an immense desert, a vast grave-yard, where the heaped-up bones of Frenchmen and of Spaniards shall proclaim to future ages our glory and their shame. But so dreadful a fate cannot be reserved for Spain; sooner or later victory must be the reward of courage and constancy.

“Spaniards! the Junta does not disguise from you the dangers that threaten your country; it proclaims them to you, confident that you will prove yourselves worthy of that holy cause which is ours. That sword which has been drawn from its scabbard by the eternal hatred we have sworn to an execrable tyrant, shall no more be sheathed. Never again shall the standard of independence and liberty be furled. Hasten to enrol yourselves beneath its colours, all ye who cannot endure an infamous yoke, who cannot make a league with iniquity, and we shall triumph in the end over all the artifices and all the power of an inhuman despot!”

Such language was too much in accordance with the feeling of the nation not to be well received.

The news of the defeat at Ocaña, however, now beginning to become known, lessened the effect of the proclamation. The Government-Junta, after vain efforts to disguise the disaster, was, at length, obliged to speak out. In a further proclamation, dated the 20th of December it admitted the whole extent of the defeat, and stated to the nation the measures it proposed taking to escape the impending dangers. All the silver vessels of the churches, with the exception of those that were indispensable for daily worship, were to be taken to the Seville Mint, a loan of six millions of piastres was to be opened in Spain, and one of forty millions in America. A hundred thousand men were to be raised to recruit the forces; a hundred thousand pikes or daggers were to be manufactured and distributed in the country parts; and engineers were to be dispatched to the Sierra-Morena, to reconnoitre and fortify the mountain passes. These measures all indicated the gravity of the situation, and the alarm of the Government, on the one hand, and on the other hand the exhausted state of the means of resistance in Spain. In fact, the Junta had made so poor a use of its authority, that now, when the fairest provinces of the kingdom were in danger of invasion, Spain no longer possessed an army, and had only the shadow of a government, while she was deserted by her English allies.

The French therefore had no serious obstacle to

encounter in their expedition to Andalusia. They had only to decide whether the present was a fitting opportunity for the campaign, since the English army, quite intact, was occupying Portugal, and the provinces of Arragon and Valencia were not yet subdued. This question, as I have said in the last chapter, had been, in defiance of all the rules of strategy, decided in the affirmative.

The French Army destined for the expedition to Andalusia, consisted of the united 1st, 4th, and 5th Corps,* and numbered, including the Reserve and the Royal Guard, about 60,000 men.

The King, whom I accompanied on this expedition, left Madrid on the 8th of January, 1810, at seven in the morning, and passed the night at Toledo, having taken the high road through Getafa, Illescas, Cabañas and Ollas. Early the next morning, the 9th, we resumed our journey towards Madrideojos; and passed a fatiguing day in travelling nearly twelve Spanish leagues. After leaving Toledo, the Tagus is spanned by a very narrow but well-built bridge. After crossing this bridge, there is a steep ascent, with an admirable view of the town, which is situated on the

* The 2nd Corps, which was on the bank of the Tagus on the frontier of Estramadura, was at first intended to co-operate in the expedition; but direct commands from the Emperor summoned it to the right bank of the Tagus, where it was to form the left wing of the army destined to operate against Portugal.

right bank of the river, on several picturesquely grouped hills, the highest crowned by the Alcazar. Before the use of cannon Toledo was a strong place, at the present time, overlooked as it is by the neighbouring heights, although the town is an important point, it has no longer any means of defence. At a short distance from Toledo we passed by Almonacid and the spot where, on August the 10th of the preceding year, the King had gained an important victory. I was at his side as we rode over the field of battle, and he pointed out to me the enemy's positions, and recalled the principal circumstances of the engagement. We continued our route across La Mancha, and on the 10th of January we left Madridejos for Villarubia, whence we again set forward on the 11th. Between that town and the Guadiana the ground is rather marshy. We crossed the river at its source, commonly called Los Ojos de la Guadiana.* It flows very slowly, and, generally speaking, has but a slight fall. Many wonderful fables as to its origin are rife in the country, and Cervantes has made use of them in one of the most delightful episodes of his *Don Quixote*. From the source of the Guadiana as far as Damiel, the country is pleasant and well cultivated, olive-trees especially abounding. After leaving

* *The eyes of the Guadiana.* This name is given to great pools of water, intercepted by masses of earth forming small islands, or more strictly speaking, marshes.

Daniel, a large and well-built town, where we rested for a couple of hours, the road becomes more shaded. We passed through a fine plantation of oaks, and found ourselves on an extensive plain which conducted us to Almagro. On the 11th of January our head-quarters were fixed in that town, which is but a short distance from the Sierra-Morena. The Duke of Belluna's army-corps was there before us, and it was here that our military operations commenced. The Marshal, with the right wing of the army, advanced towards Almaden del Azogue,* to reach the high road to Seville, and avoid the ordinary pass of the Sierra Morena, while the 5th Corps, which with the Reserve and the Royal Guard was commanded by Marshal Mortier, and formed the centre of the army, marched in a direct line on this pass.† We remained at Almagro until the 18th of January, waiting for news from Marshal Victor, and when we learned that he had effected his movement without opposition from the enemy, the centre, consisting of the forces I have named, and forming a total of from twenty to twenty-two thousand men, left Almagro, and advanced to Santa Cruz de Mudela at the foot of the Sierra Morena, while General Sebas-

* The famous quicksilver mine of Almaden is situated here. *Azogue* is the Spanish for quicksilver.

† He had, however, been obliged to send back his artillery; it had been impossible to get the guns along the nearly impassable mountain roads.

tiani with the Fourth Army Corps, forming the left wing of the army, was leaving Los Infantes and advancing so as to act in concert with the centre. All was therefore in preparation for a decisive attack. We received intelligence that the enemy had thrown up great earth-works in the mountain, that deep cuttings and mining-works had been executed in the defile of *Despeña Perros** which crosses the Sierra Morena, and that a serious engagement was expected.

On the 20th of January at six a.m. we left Santa Cruz, and took the high road to the village of Virillo, which we reached at nine a.m. The King made no stay there, but continued to accompany the army until within a short distance of the *Venta de Cardenas*, situated at the foot of the pass.

Our forces were divided into three corps ; Gazan's division on the right, Gerard's in the centre and on the left, both forming part of Marshal Mortier's Corps. Dessolle's division, which formed the reserve, had taken another road on our right, and was turning the enemy's positions by an independent movement.

The attack began towards eleven o'clock. The Spaniards had established two batteries on the side of

* The name of this pass may be rendered thus ; *a pass where even dogs will fall over*. Before the road was made, the pass could not be traversed without danger.

the mountain overlooking the defile from the right, and had raised some intrenchments at the head of the bridge on the high road, the other side of the Venta de Cardañas. In two hours all their positions were carried, the batteries were seized by the cavalry, and the road was left with no other defence than the two cuttings in the defile, and two or three mines in other parts of the pass. These obstacles were soon removed; the cuttings, undefended by the enemy, were filled in; only one of the mines exploded, and it produced little effect. At two p.m. the pass was entirely free and the King passed through it with his guard. General Gerard's division marched on an entrenched camp that the Spanish had established on the summit of a plateau on our left, and which was known under the name of *Collado de Jardines*. The division carried it readily, and forced the remainder of the Cordova Regiment, who were holding it and part of which had perished in the attack, to lay down their arms.

Meanwhile Dessolle's division was doing its work, and driving the enemy before it. Then having crossed the mountain at the *Puerto del Rey*, it rejoined the centre column between *Santa-Elena* and *Las Navas de Tolosa*. The King passed the night at La Carolina, where he had arrived at six in the evening.

Thus, in the course of a few hours, the pass of the

Sierra-Morena, which seemed the last hope of the Junta, was forced, the army that defended it was entirely dispersed, and the gates of Andalusia were opened to the French.

The road we had taken on that day, from Santa-Cruz de Medela as far as La Carolina, is a magnificent one, thoroughly well planned. The Despeña Perros Pass is rendered practicable by a road built cornice-like on the mountain to the right, over a deep precipice with a torrent at the bottom. A stone facing supports the road for a considerable distance. On the whole it is a fine structure. The range of the Sierra-Morena, at the point where we crossed it, is not very elevated. At a short distance from the plateau of Santa Elena, the plains of Navas de Tolosa become visible. It was there that Alfonso VIII. gained a decisive victory over the Moors in 1212.

On leaving Santa Elena, the view was magnificent. The Andalusian plains were mapped out before us ; the chain of the Sierra-Morena stretched along on our right from East to West, and in the distance on our left we perceived the mountains of Granada and the summits of the Sierra-Nevada, which I believe to be the highest mountain in Spain. The summits, covered with eternal snows, reminded me strongly of the Alps.

Night overtook us as we began our descent to-

wards La Carolina. But on the following day, January 21st, I had leisure to inspect this thoroughly modern town and its environs. Towards the end of the last century, (in 1788,) the Spanish Government had established colonies in the Sierra-Morena, and some other uncultivated parts of Andalusia, which at first had prospered sufficiently well. But the French Revolution, the prosecution of M. Olavidez, who had founded these colonies, by the Inquisition, and lastly the war in which Spain had been involved for the last two years, had retarded their progress. La Carolina, one of these settlements, is of inconsiderable size, but built with regularity. Streets laid out in parallel lines, at right angles, and composed of well-built and nearly uniform houses, present an agreeable appearance. There are gardens in front of some of these houses. A fine avenue of trees on the high road to Andalusia, which is bordered with several kitchen-gardens, completes one of the most charming sites for a dwelling place that I have met with in my wanderings. But, at the time of my visit to the spot, its beauty was greatly obscured by the damage done during the night to the houses and gardens. It was a scene of desolation.

We left La Carolina towards noon to pass the night at Baylen. At a very short distance, to the south of that town, is the battle-field where eighteen

months previously General Dupont's troops had been beaten and forced to capitulate. The disgrace of that fatal day had been effaced by the success that our arms had just obtained in the same locality.

At Baylen which was otherwise quite deserted, the King received reports of the operations of the corps commanded by General Sebastiani. The Spanish troops, which had been repulsed by the centre of our army on the 20th of January, had thrown themselves on our left. There they were attacked by General Sebastiani, who took from 7000 to 8000 prisoners, and General Castejon, who commanded the division, was obliged to surrender. We learned at the same time that the 1st corps had joined the 5th below Andujar. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, Marshal Victor had contrived to get from Almaden to the high road to Cordova, after crossing the Guadalquivir at Montoro. Thus the movement that had been planned twelve days before at Almagro, had been effected with perfect success.

After sending off his despatches, dated Baylen, to Madrid and Paris, the King left that place for Andujar on the 23rd of January.

The journey from Baylen to Andujar is a delightful one. The way lies through a fertile country, abounding in olive groves of immense extent. Vegetation is vigorous throughout, and I noticed in the

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uncultivated parts some plants that I had previously remarked in the south of Italy or in Corsica, such as the Rose-laurel, and on the banks of the streams many varieties of the *Cistus* and the *Daphne*.

At a league from Andujar, the Guadalquivir becomes visible * flowing peacefully through a pleasant plain at the foot of a hill.

Andujar, situated on the right bank of this famous river, is a town of considerable size, and some parts of it are well built. There is a large plaza, or square, and a fine bridge over the Guadalquivir. The greater number of the inhabitants had fled from their houses on the approach of our troops. As usual, there had been much disorder, doors were broken in, and windows smashed, part of the town was set on fire, in short, all the evils of war, aggravated by want of discipline.

During the two days we spent at Andujar, the King received the news of the occupation of Cordova by the French troops. General Vilate had entered the city at the head of a division of Light Cavalry, and of some companies of infantry belonging to the 1st Corps. No resistance had been made. The inhabitants had remained in their houses, and had sent a deputation to receive the General. We heard at the same time that the town of Jaen had surren-

* The Arabian name of the Boëtis of the Romans; *Guada*, or rather *ouada el Kébir*, the Great River.

dered to General Sebastiani, who, after leaving a garrison there, had marched on Granada.

This good news decided the King on proceeding to Cordova, and on the 25th of January we left Andujar.

After crossing the Guadalquivir by the bridge I have mentioned, we followed the high road on the left bank of the river so far as the village of Aldea del Rio, where we diverged from it, crossing the country on our left to Bujalance, a small but well-built town, with a population of 8000 or 9000 souls. None of the inhabitants had left the town, and we were well received. On the 26th we returned to the Andalusian high road, beyond a town called Carpio, and recrossed the Guadalquivir at the bridge of Alcolea del Rio. This fine bridge had not been destroyed as we were told, and the enemy, who, it was supposed, would have held a position here, had abandoned the bridge, after having constructed some earthworks there. At about a league from this spot, we began to catch sight of Cordova. The aspect of that tower, from a slight eminence on the road, is agreeable and picturesque. The surrounding hill sides are covered with olive groves, among which small country-houses are scattered. The land is well cultivated, and there are all the signs of a delightful climate, and a fertile country. The town rises in the midst of a narrow plain bounded on the west and

north by the last slopes of the Sierra-Morena, but opening on the east and south, towards the Guadalquivir, on whose right bank the town is entirely built. It is one of the most ancient cities of Spain. Having long been under the domination of the Romans and later under that of the Moors, it contains remarkable remains of these two peoples.

We found that the town was inhabited, and the King was well received by the crowds who pressed round him. He took up his residence in the Episcopal Palace, built at the Southern extremity of the town, on a height which commands the river and the plains watered by it. Gardens of orange-trees and myrtles beautify this abode, which is most happily situated.

We remained three days at Cordova, waiting until Marshal Victor, who was advancing along the Andalusian road through Ecija and Carmona, should have passed the latter town. I took advantage of our stay to visit some of the principal buildings, and especially the Cathedral, which was built by the Moors, and is alleged to have been the chief mosque of Cordova.

The whole edifice consists of one building, constructed on a vast parallelogram. The exterior is an enclosure formed by a wall of about thirty feet in height from the floor of the building, and a few feet higher from the pavement of the streets, which are

lower to the east and north, being on an ascent towards the west. This wall is of very simple architecture. It is only ornamented at intervals with projecting towers, square shaped, and with a crenelated edge.

Part of the enclosure is empty, and forms a court or garden, surrounded with porticoes adorned with fountains of limpid water, and planted with orange-trees, cypresses, and palm-trees.

A very lofty steeple rises on the west side of the court. It is supported by a great arch, which serves also as an entrance-porch. These are quite modern, and date from the time when the Gothic style was in part abandoned, and became mixed with Greek or Roman architecture.

Two doors lead from this court, or garden, into the interior of the Church. That one which is opposite the steeple, and by which I entered, is ornamented with two fragments of milliary pillars, one bearing an inscription of the time of Augustus, and the other an inscription of the time of Tiberius. The letters have been restored and modernized, and even a date of the modern era has been added. Below the right hand pillar, an Arabic inscription is visible on the wall. The other door is at the extreme end of the court and is also adorned with a milliary pillar.*

On reaching the interior, one is struck with the

* I copied the inscriptions; they are as follows :

curious aspect of this singular building. At the first glance, nothing is distinguishable but a forest of little pillars, ten or twelve feet high, in rows parallel

On the pillar to the left of the principal entrance, opposite the steeple :

Imp. Cæsar. Divi. F.
Augustus. Cos. XIII. Trib.
Potest. XXI. Pontif. Max.
A. Bæte. et. Jano. Augus.
Ad. Oceanum.
LXIII.

In modern characters, underneath this inscription, I read,

Hoc. Anno. Natus.
D. N. Jesus. Christ.

On the second pillar to the right of the same entrance :

Ti. Cæsar. Divi. Augusti. F.
Divi. Julii. Nepos. Augus.
Pontif. Max. XXI. Cos.
V. Imp. Trib. Potes. XXXVII.
Ab. Jano. Augusto. Qui. Est.
Ad. Bætim. Usque. Ad.
Oceanum.
LXIII.

Below this, in modern character :

HOC. ANNO. PASSIO. D. N.
JHS. XP. JUXTA. CASSIO.

On the pillar to the right of the second entrance :

C. Cæsar. Germa.
nicus. Germanici.
Cæsaris. F. Ti. Aug. N.
Divi. Aug. PRON. Divi.
Julii. ABN. Aug. Pat. PAR.
Cos. II. Imp. Trib. Pote
State. II. Pont. Max.
A. Bæte. et. Jano. Augusto.
Ad. Oceanum.

On this third pillar there is neither milliary sign, nor any modern inscription.

with the length of the building, and divided into quincunxes separated each from the other by an empty space of twenty-five feet. Each of these pillars supports the arbacus of a small arch springing from one column to another and itself surmounted by a second arch of excentric form, thus leaving a space between the two in the shape of a crescent. The higher arches support the shafts of a vault which constitutes the roof between each row of pillars.

In the central space, several rows of pillars and arches have been destroyed, to provide room for the construction of a choir and a nave, entirely modern in design, and covered with gilding, painting, and other ornamentation quite out of keeping with the simplicity of the rest of the edifice. In other parts small chapels and devotional altars have been erected

The name of Janus occurring in the three inscriptions leads to the supposition that Augustus, who had had the glory of closing the temple of Janus at Rome, had raised a temple to that god at Cordova on the banks of the Bétis, or else that the inhabitants of that town, in order to flatter the Emperor by perpetuating the memory of so notable an event, had themselves raised it. It was from this temple that the itinerary measure started.

The two L's joined together in the form LL in the two first inscriptions, signify twice fifty or one hundred. Thus from Cordova to the sea, the distance was reckoned at one hundred and thirteen or one hundred and fourteen thousand Roman feet. The abbreviation CASSIO represents the name of the chronologer Cassiodorus.

without regard to the symmetrical order of the arcades; with the result of producing unequal spaces and irregular openings, which disfigure the building, and quite destroy the majestic effect that would result from the simplicity and unity which doubtless originally constituted the principal beauty of the building.

It would appear that this edifice was built by the Moors, with the fragments of some temple or theatre of Roman construction. The columns are all either of marble or granite, of graceful proportion, and without either base or pedestal;* but all have Corinthian capitals finished or unfinished, and those that are completed are evidently of Roman handiwork.

I particularly remarked the so-called baptistery, or Chapel of the Baptismal Font, which is much richer in ornament than the rest of the edifice. It is said to be on the spot where the Koran was formerly deposited. The chapel is of the same design as the others, but the double arcades are cut into deep indentations, and carved with flowers and leaves, in the style which from its Arabian origin, has been called Arabesque. The design is rich and not ill executed, though the manner is somewhat formal. On the north façade, I also remarked some doors and windows in good preservation, and decorated in

* The Milliare columns in the court are on bases of the Corinthian order.

the same style as the chapel of which I am speaking. The same kind of ornamentation probably existed on the four façades, but the changes and repairs which have been effected at various times to adapt the building to its new purposes have obliterated the carvings.

Such is this edifice, which is more interesting than beautiful, and such is the impression that I received from it.

During my stay at Cordova I also visited the Alcazar. That ancient palace of the Moorish kings of Cordova, was, at the time of my visit, in the occupation of the Inquisition. It is situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir, at a short distance from the Cathedral, and retains few traces of its former self; a few square, battlemented towers are the sole remains of the work of the Moors. But the situation of the building is admirable, as are also the riverside gardens, and the fountains springing up amid them. At the time that I wandered through them, they were planted with the finest orange trees I had ever beheld. My guide pointed out one in particular, called *el Moro*, probably because it is supposed to date from the time of the Moors; and this is indeed very probable. The principal branches are propped up with masonry, having become too heavy for the aged trunk.

We left Cordova early in the morning on the 29th

of January, and after crossing the bridge, resumed our route on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. At first our road lay, for about two leagues, along a plain, then we entered a small mountain range enclosing a district which is quite new. It formerly consisted of broad uncultivated wastes; but for twenty years the ground had been gradually cleared, and pretty dwelling-places erected, forming what were called at that time the colonies of Andalusia. La Carlotta, a pretty town, of very regular construction and in the modern style, was the chief place of these settlements, which, like those of the Sierra-Morena of which I have already spoken, are the creation of M. Olavidez. La Carlotta had suffered no harm. On the whole, as we made further progress, we found provisions for our soldiers in greater abundance, the inhabitants having remained in their dwellings, and there were fewer signs of disorder. Thus we were no longer distressed by the melancholy spectacles that had hitherto grieved us, and our journey from Cordova to Ecija and Carmona, where we remained while waiting to learn the result of Marshal Victor's and Marshal Mortier's movements, was particularly agreeable. The vegetation was of a novel kind. Hedge-rows of *Cactus-opuntia* and of *Agava* bordered the fields. Here and there date-bearing palm-trees stood high against the sky and grew luxuriantly in the fields; the Fan-palm-tree (*Chamærops*

humilis) was also very plentiful.* Everything proclaimed that we were approaching the extremity of Europe and drawing near to Africa. Between Ecija and Carmona, we passed through several settlements similar to those we had seen between Cordova and Ecija. La Louisiana is the principal one. This village, pretty and pleasant, is situated on the high road, and a league farther on, we came to La Monclea, a large farm of the modern style, with a fine oilmill, cisterns, granaries, large stables, and in short, all the necessary adjuncts of an agricultural establishment on a scale almost unknown in Spain. The principal building is situated on a height commanding a valley through which runs the Madre Vieja, which is spanned by a very fine bridge. Magnificent palm trees in picturesque groups gave an aspect as attractive as it was novel to these buildings.

The King, who had reached Carmona on the 30th of January, remained there on the following day. There was an important decision to be taken before going farther. A little way beyond Carmona,† which is only at five or six miles distance from Seville, the high road bifurcates. One branch leads

* These Fan-palms are gathered for the purpose of making brooms commonly used in Andalusia, and almost the only kind that is known there.

† At the village of Alcala de Guadaira.

to Seville, the other, through Utrera and Xerez de la Frontera, to Cadiz. The question to be determined was whether the army should continue to advance in the latter direction, leaving Seville on its rear, in order to march at once on Cadiz, or whether Seville should be taken before attacking Cadiz.

The first alternative was doubtless the more soldierly. If there were any reasonable hope of taking Cadiz, it was by surprising the place, and making use of the first moments of confusion and terror into which a sudden invasion would have thrown the town; and Seville would follow the example of Cadiz. Once driven from the latter city the Junta and all its influence would be destroyed. Besides this, we might come up with the Duke of Albuquerque's corps, which, on hearing that the French had forced the pass of the Sierra-Morena, had hastily left Estramadura, and was retreating by forced marches on Cadiz.* These troops, consisting of ten or twelve thousand men, were scarcely a day's march in advance of the French army which had

* The Junta had ordered the Duke of Albuquerque to proceed with his corps to defend the passes of the Sierra-Morena, but Castaños in a private letter begged him in the most urgent terms to march as soon as possible to the assistance of Cadiz, and to disregard the orders of the Junta, and he resolved on marching in the latter direction. To this action of the Duke of Alberquerque and to the foolish decision taken on the 31st of January at the French head-quarters, may be attributed the salvation of Cadiz, and perhaps that of Spain.

entered Carmona on the 29th of January.* And supposing that we failed alike to surprise Cadiz, and to join the Duke of Albuquerque, at least we should not have to reproach ourselves with not having made the attempt, and Seville would be equally able to defend herself. At the most, there might be a delay of a few days before taking possession of that town.

The other case was different. The occupation of Seville had no influence on that of Cadiz. All the chiefs of the opposition against whom we had to contend, were in the latter place, which was also the refuge of the Junta. In Seville, we should find only the authorities of the town and the municipality, but no members of the Government, or representatives of the nation, with whom to treat. However quickly the town might be taken, it would cost us the loss of at least four or five days, and those days were decisive: they would give Cadiz time to breathe, and the chiefs time to concert together; the English would have an opportunity of exerting their influence, and the garrison would have time to gather confidence from the situation of the town, and to provide the first works for its defence.

These suggestions, which were natural enough, were made, but they were not heeded. The same

* The Duke of Albuquerque only entered Cadiz, which he saved by his presence, on the 3rd of February.

mistake that led to the failure of all our operations in Spain, was the cause of this irreparable blunder also. It was believed that with the surrender of Seville the war would come to a close, just as a year before the same belief had existed concerning Madrid, and there was so strong a conviction that the goal and the fruit of the expedition were to be found at Seville, that at the King's dinner-table at Carmona, at which I was present, with his ministers and several generals, I heard Marshal Soult declare himself openly for the march on Seville, saying: "Let me be sure of Seville, and I will answer for Cadiz!"

It is, however, scarcely probable that a man so experienced and so skilful in war should really fall into so manifest an error. The intention of the Marshal, as the sequel has shown, was to fix himself in Andalusia; and if at that moment Cadiz were to fall into the hands of the French, his presence in the conquered province would no longer be necessary, and his aim would be missed.

The decision, which turned out so unfortunately, was taken, and the *whole* of the army, instead of taking the road to Cadiz, received orders to march on Seville.*

* Unless we admit that Marshal Soult *did not at that time desire* the fall of Cadiz, it is difficult to understand why a sudden attack on that town should not have been combined with the

The King had at first hoped to enter the capital of Andalusia on the 31st of January, but we heard in the morning, that, on the previous day, the Spaniards had fired on our outposts which had advanced beneath the ramparts of the town, and the march of the head-quarters was countermanded. However, as nothing further occurred, the King left Carmona early on the 1st of February, and on reaching Alcala de Guadaira, we learned that Marshal Victor had concluded the negotiations begun that night with the magistrates concerning the surrender of the town, and that the capitulation was signed. Shortly afterwards a deputation, consisting of the principal inhabitants, came out to meet the King. We set out, therefore, towards 10 A.M. The sun was shining in all his splendour over the immense plain in which Seville is situated, and gilding the Giralda* and the numerous spires which rise from the town. We were filled with admiration of this splendid spectacle.

advance on Seville. Both expeditions could easily have been accomplished. A small body of troops was sufficient to take possession of Seville, which was then quite unable to make any serious resistance, and there was nothing to prevent Marshal Victor with the rest of the army from marching forwards at once to surprise Cadiz, and come up with Albuquerque and defeat him.

* The cathedral tower of Seville is so called.

At three quarters of a league from the town, we found Marshal Victor's corps drawn up in order of battle on either side of the road. The troops, all in parade order, were a splendid sight; the joy of success shone in every countenance. The King as he passed through was received with loud acclamations, and he then made his entry into the town preceded by his guard. He was received and followed by an immense crowd of the people who filled the streets and public places as far as the Alcazar, where he dismounted from his horse and took up his residence. Cries of *Viva el rey* arose on every side. Curiosity and fear had no doubt a greater share in that triumphant reception than any other sentiments; but whatever may have been its true cause, it seemed at the time to justify the occupation of Seville. Once more we believed ourselves to have reached the end of the war, and the King rejoiced more than ever at having, in opposition to some of his advisers, undertaken an expedition which had been so rapidly successful; twenty days only had elapsed since we had left Madrid.

The unexpected success of the campaign inspired confidence, which displayed itself in all the public acts emanating from head-quarters, after the army had crossed the Sierra Morena. A proclamation by the King, published during his stay at Cordova, and drawn up in imitation of the style of the Emperor,

had announced "that immutable destiny had already decided the fate of Spain, and that all resistance had become unavailing." An order of the day, dated Seville, February 1, containing the King's thanks to the army, was expressed in still more presumptuous terms :

"The war with Austria," so it ran, "that has just been so gloriously ended by the Emperor, had revived the hopes of the English cabinet. English troops in Spain were to conquer Madrid, and there create an important diversion ; but they learned a lesson at Talavera, and no longer dared to present themselves.

"The insurrectionary forces, on being abandoned by their so-called allies, made a last attempt at the moment of the pacification of Vienna. Ocaña destroyed their senseless projects. Soldiers! you recognised in those troops your own brethren led astray by the common enemy. You desired to save them, and I received them as my children.

"Frenchmen! that recollection will never be effaced from my memory. I shall reign in Spain, but France will live for ever in my heart.

"The barriers placed by Nature between the North and the South of Spain have fallen. You have met with friends only beyond the Sierra Morena ; Jaen, Cordova, Granada and Seville have flung open their gates. You have traversed those provinces in the same peaceable and orderly spirit with which you

would have marched through Languedoc or Burgundy. Welcome from the inhabitants, abundance, and peace, have been the reward of your conduct.

“Soldiers of Talavera, of Almonacid, of Arzobispo, of Ocaña, of Sierra Morena! how can I express all I owe you!

“I recall to your mind your own conduct. The Emperor shall hear of it.

“The King of Spain desires that between the pillars of Hercules a third pillar shall arise, to recall to posterity and to the navigators of both the new and the old world the memory of the officers and men of the French army, who drove back the English, saved thirty thousand Spaniards, pacified ancient Betica and regained for France her natural allies.* ”

The reader will perceive that in this proclamation the King carefully avoided any reference to conquest or invasion. According to him, we might believe that the Andalusian provinces were only recognising their legitimate king, and that the French army, in driving out a band of insurgents, had but restored to the country the power of expressing its true sentiments.

* Such is the wording of the order of the day, as published at Seville and translated into Spanish. The reader will hereafter see the alterations in it, made by the Emperor, on its appearance in the *Moniteur*.

This was a delusion ; but, at first, everything contributed to strengthen it. Joseph had been enabled to establish the seat of his Government in the Alcazar at Seville, where the Junta had resided for the past year. In the same spot where his name had so often been reviled he now received the homage of the magistracy, of the chief merchants of one of the largest cities in Spain, and of humble deputations from her richest provinces. And, that nothing might be wanting to the triumph of the moment, Fortune had decreed that he should find in the cathedral of Seville the eagles and the colours that had been taken at Baylen, and that he should have the glory of restoring those trophies to France.

But, when the first glow of success began to fade, and that it became possible to appreciate the real position of affairs, the difficulties still remaining were found to be much greater than they had seemed at first. . The impression produced by the passage of the Sierra Morena and the occupation of Seville did not extend and increase as had been hoped. Cadiz seemed no nearer a surrender. Again, therefore, it became necessary to have recourse to arms, and with renewed activity. Marshal Victor, at the head of the 1st Army Corps, had left Seville on the 2nd of February, and was marching on Cadiz, and Marshal Mortier with the 5th Corps was advancing in Estramadura, in hopes

of surprising Badajoz. Neither of those expeditions was successful. The 4th Corps under General Sebastiani was more fortunate. Jaen, Granada, and Malaga opened their gates one after the other, and by the beginning of February that part of Andalusia was entirely subjugated.

While awaiting the issue of these movements, the King remained at Seville, and I took advantage of my stay there to examine that celebrated city and its environs.

Seville, next to Barcelona, the largest town in Spain, is situated on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, which divides it from a very fine suburb on the right bank. The river, which is crossed by a bridge of boats communicating with the suburb and with the road to Estramadura, is sufficiently deep for vessels of three or four thousand tons to ascend it as far as the bridge. Handsome flights of steps, and a quay on the side of the suburb, facilitate the import and export of merchandise. Fine avenues * of trees form the public promenade on the city side, and at the end facing the bridge is a marble group on a lofty pedestal, adorned with Ionic columns. This is a curious work of art, consisting of two male figures seated, one represents the Eternal Father, the other the Divine Son ; between them is a dove

* One of these avenues is of Sapotilla (*Achras sapotilla*), a tree cultivated at the Antilles.

completing the Holy Trinity. The work is in bad taste.

All this part of the town is handsome, and pleasing to the eye. In the interior the streets are narrow and winding, but, generally, well constructed. The houses are almost all of uniform design, consisting of a large, square courtyard, surrounded by arcades, supported on pillars; the upper storey is a gallery on the arcades from which the rooms open.

Seville contains several remarkable buildings: the Alcazar, the Cathedral, the Lonja (Stock Exchange), all three in the centre of the town,* and in addition to these, beautiful churches and wealthy convents. The Cathedral is a vast Gothic edifice of very great

* My attention was called to the arms of the town on the façade of that building. They form a curious rebus. They consist of a skein of thread in the shape of the figure 8; on one side are the letters NO, on the other DO; thus:

NO 8 DO

In order to understand this symbol, it must be explained that a skein of thread, in Spanish is *madexa*; thus by reading in a straight line we get these words, *No madexa do*, which spelt properly would run thus: *No me ha dexado*, "He has not forsaken me," and this is, in fact, the meaning of the symbol. It originated in the following way. Hard pressed by the Moors, the town of Seville asked for help from the King of Castile. That sovereign hastened to send to its succour and assisted the inhabitants to drive out the Moors. The town perpetuated her gratitude by adopting for motto, "*No me ha dexado*," turned by a wit of the time into the above riddle, which Seville adopted for her arms.

height, but with nothing noteworthy in its architecture. A square tower at one of its angles, on the east side, serves as a belfry. At the top of the tower to which there is easy access by a convenient staircase, is a weather-cock, in the form of a female figure, known as the Giralda. The interior is adorned with pictures of the Spanish school, by Zurbaran, Murillo, Valdes, Herrera, Louis de Vargas, and others.

The Alcazar, formerly the palace of the Moorish Kings, retains many traces of its origin. The courts, the window-arches, even the interior of the apartments, are ornamented with arabesques dating from the rule of the Moors in Spain. A portion, however, of these decorations is modern, and merely an imitation of Moorish work. The gardens, enclosed within the palace walls, are of vast extent, and watered by sparkling streams ; but the buildings and shrubberies are, generally speaking, in bad taste. The whole, when seen from a terrace on the south side of the palace, is, however, picturesque and curious.

Tobacco is manufactured in a large building divided by a street from the Alcazar. The exterior of the establishment is very handsome, and rather that of a palace than a factory. Besides ordinary tobacco and cigars, *polvo*, known as Spanish snuff, is manufactured there ; and I believe has never been made in any place except Seville.

The *Lonja* (Stock Exchange), built on Juan Herrera's * plans, is remarkable for its elegant simplicity and for the excellent style of its porticoes and galleries. The latter contain the archives of the Indies, arranged in spacious shelves supported by mahogany pillars. Among these archives, which are kept in admirable order, there used to be original letters of Christopher Columbus, Fernand Cortez and Pizarro; but they had been removed to Cadiz by the Junta.

The cannon-foundry is one of the finest establishments of the kind in Europe. The architecture of the building is handsome, and well adapted to its purpose. The copper used in the foundry comes chiefly from the Riotinto mine; the lead, from Linarez, a short distance from Baylen.

On the 7th of February, I accompanied the King to Italica. The remains of that ancient town, the birth-place of three Roman Emperors,† are at a short

* One of the architects of the Escorial. I shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter.

† These three emperors were:

Trajan; the historians who give Italica as his birthplace are Appianus of Alexandria (*De bello hispanico*) and Eutropius.

Adrian; belonging to a family of Cadiz, but born at Italica according to Ælianus, Spartianus, Eutropius and Aulus-Gellius.

Theodosius, successor to Gratianus and Valentinian, was also born at Italica, according to some historians, though many others name another town as his native place, but all of them assign his birth to Spain.

distance to the west of Seville, near a small village called San-Tiponce, which, however, contains a fine convent dedicated to San Isidoro. The parish church is dedicated to St. Germain, who, according to tradition, suffered martyrdom at Italica.

There remain few traces of the former splendour of that town. There are, however, some fine and interesting ruins of a vast amphitheatre, and a mosaic pavement representing the nine Muses, which has been described by M. de Laborde. There are besides some remains of aqueducts and fountains, the work of the Romans, but in a very dilapidated state. Excavations on the site of the town had resulted in some fragments of statuary and pillars, which had been formed into a collection at the Alcazar of Seville, where I saw them.* The Marquis d'Almenara possessed a hand of Jupiter holding the thunder-bolt, that was discovered in one of the excavations. This fragment of antique sculpture appeared to me to be of extreme beauty.

I will now return to our military operations. Marshal Victor had arrived at Xerez on the 5th of February, and summoned Cadiz to surrender, without effect. The King resolved therefore to proceed to

* The most remarkable of these antiquities are : two mutilated statues of colossal size, of very fine workmanship, and evidently imperial statues ; another with part of the head mutilated, and which would seem to be that of Nerva from other mutilated statues, life-sized, and several funereal inscriptions.

the spot, and left Seville on the 12th. On reaching Utrera we learned that the Duke of Albuquerque with the troops under his command had entered Isle de Leon on the 3rd of February, and was preparing to defend the town. His presence certainly saved Cadiz from a sudden attack, and the consequences of the mistake we had made in remaining at Seville instead of pushing on to Cadiz soon became apparent. That we still entertained some hope was proved by the attempts that were made to bring about the surrender of the town. But they soon completely vanished.

On hearing that Albuquerque was at Isla de Leon, an evil augury for the future, we left Utrera on the morning of the 13th, and at the end of a long day's journey across an almost desert country, we arrived at Xeres de la Frontera: day was beginning to close in, but we could still enjoy the charming prospect afforded by that beautiful town, which seems to rise from the bosom of a forest of olive-trees, palm-trees and cypresses. We could admire the surrounding gardens and the vineyards that produce that celebrated wine of Xeres (Sherry), one of the principal branches of commerce in Andalusia. The interior of the town, with its large and airy streets, and fine well-built houses, perfectly corresponds with the ideas conveyed by its external appearance. Everything bespeaks prosperity, due to a fertile soil, a

glorious climate, and the situation of the town, close to a large sea-port. Xeres is destined by all these, and by its rich agricultural produce, to every kind of prosperity. Although we were at a distance of only four leagues from Cadiz, the King was greeted with acclamations by the inhabitants of Xeres, and the welcome we received might have made us believe ourselves in the midst of a friendly people. Yet we stayed only two days at Xeres, and left the city on the 4th of February for Puerto-Santa-Maria.

The road from Xeres to Santa-Maria is very pleasant. After traversing a well-cultivated plain for about a league, the traveller reaches by a very gentle slope the summit of the hills which overlook the basin of Cadiz. From this spot, which is marked by two pillars, each surmounted with a cross, the environs of Cadiz are distinctly visible. But, fitly to enjoy this magnificent view, the traveller should bear to the right, towards a signal station called Buenavesta, situated on the highest point of the hill. We made our way thither, and the view which we enjoyed amply rewarded us.

Down in the plain we could see the winding course of the Guadaleta, a little river that runs through marshes to the bay of Cadiz; the picturesque town of Puerto-Santa-Maria, on the great bay; opposite this the city and harbour of Cadiz; on the

left the town of Puerto-Real; farther on, the little bay of Caraca and the dockyards for ship building; Isla, Leon, and the narrow isthmus that unites the continent and the peninsula on which Cadiz is situated; beyond lay the ocean, reaching to the horizon. Towards the centre of this great picture is the Strait of Trocadero, which connects the great bay with the small one, in which are the naval establishments of the State, the entrance being guarded by the fort of Matagorda and Puntalez. On the right we could see the town of Rota, and the Andalusian coast, to the mouth of the Guadalquivir. The back ground of the picture is occupied by the town of Xeres, and the Sierra de Xeres mountains, dividing the basin of Cadiz from that of Gibraltar.

Puerto-Santa-Maria, where the King established his head-quarters on the 14th of February, 'is a town containing fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is well built, with wide rectangular streets, some of them having foot-pavements. An appearance of life and prosperity indicates the neighbourhood of the large city, of which Santa-Maria is, so to speak, one of the suburbs.

On the day after our arrival, I walked along the shore of the bay to Fort Santa Catalina. It is on the farthest promontory of the coast, and at the shortest distance from Cadiz. I could clearly distinguish the houses in the town, and the principal buildings, and

the vessels in the Bay, under the protection of the batteries, might be counted. At the time of my visit there were eleven or twelve Spanish or French vessels (for the latter, the scattered remnant of Trafalgar, were under Spanish colours), and four English men-of-war and as many frigates. On succeeding days I visited Puerto Real and Chiclana, the other suburbs of Cadiz, equally pleasant and well built.

During our stay at Puerto-Santa-Maria, several flags of truce were sent on various pretexts into Cadiz. They were received and listened to, so long as they presented themselves as bearers of the customary communication between besiegers and besieged. But any demand of surrender, any attempt even to introduce political negotiations was firmly rejected. The principal cause of this determined opposition no doubt lay in the feeling of security with which the situation of Cadiz, almost unassailable by land, inspired its inhabitants. But, independently of this, the internal condition of the city, and the political movements taking place, would have prevented any portion of the people who might have been inclined for negotiation from expressing their opinions.

To make the reader understand what was then taking place among the Party of Resistance in Cadiz, I must retrace my steps, and begin a little farther back in the history of events.

We have already seen how, in consequence of the incapacity and presumption of the Central Junta, the Spanish armies had been successively defeated and scattered, and how at the end of November 1809, only a wreck of the national means of defence remained. At the same time, the great majority of the members of that Supreme Tribunal, instead of setting an example of the self-devotion and patriotic abnegation which they inculcated upon the nation in their proclamations, had taken shameless advantage of their position to satisfy their cupidity.* By acting in this way the Junta had lost all public esteem and regard, and had become an object of general contempt, and when the French crossed the Sierra Morena, and the Junta was obliged to leave Seville, that body had already incurred so much dislike, that several of its members were in serious danger on the short journey from Seville to Cadiz. At Xeres, the President Archbishop of Laodicia and two of the most unpopular members of the Junta were attacked by the mob, and would have been killed, had not some of the citizens dispersed the crowd by the device of taking the Archbishop and his two colleagues to the convent of La

* After the battle of Ocaña, the Junta was in a very critical position, and most of the members hastened to convert their property into ready money which they contrived to send to England or America. Among others a certain Count de Tilly embarked at Cadiz and arrived at Philadelphia with a fortune of several millions of piastres.

Chartreuse where they were received as prisoners of State. When it was known at Cadiz that the Junta was about to arrive, the people rose up in arms. General Castaños was at that time discharging the duties of Captain-General of Andalusia and was at Isla de Leon. He endeavoured to tranquilise the people and contrived to assemble the Junta at Cadiz. But the members who ventured into the streets were assailed with shouts and insults, and very soon none of them dared to appear in the daytime. The Junta perceived that it must yield, and convened the Cortes, appointing them to meet at Isla de Leon on the 1st of March, 1810. But this tardy concession, not made until the French were advancing in all parts of Andalusia, was not enough, and although great hopes were built on the approaching meeting of the Cortes, everyone felt the necessity of a prompter remedy. Crowds assembled, clamouring loudly for a regency. Resistance would have been vain, and the Junta at last relinquished its rule, which was conferred, until the meeting of the Cortes, on a regency consisting of five members, the Bishop of Orense,* as President; Saavedra, Minister of Finance; General Castaños, Minister of the Navy; and Fernandez de Leon, Minister of Justice. The latter resigned

* He had made himself conspicuous by his proclamations against the French, and had greatly contributed to arm Galicia against them.

a few days later, and was succeeded by Don Miguel Ardizabal. A private Junta, chosen among the merchants of Cadiz, was at the same time placed at the head of the Municipal Government of the town.

On the dissolution of the Central Junta, the new Government was installed, and its first care was for the defence of the little spot in which it had taken refuge, a defence on which the fate of the monarchy would depend. The English were appealed to for help, but for the moment they could only spare a few hundred men from the garrison of Gibraltar. The vessels taken from the French,* and the Spanish ships were brought into the Bay of Cadiz,† and were got ready to put to sea at the first signal. General Castaños ordered the general enrolment of all men fit to bear arms.

But these measures were still very far from sufficing for the pressing needs of the defence. Notwithstanding the help sent from Gibraltar, both the town and the Isle of Leon were almost without troops, and those whom the English were sending from Lisbon could not arrive under two or three weeks. The population of Cadiz was every day increased by the

* I have already said that the French vessels that had escaped from Trafalgar had taken refuge at Cadiz. The Spanish had seized on them on the breaking out of hostilities.

† The outer bay. Until then they had been in the interior Bay of Puntales.

influx of those persons, who, being alarmed at the approach of the French, came thither for safety, and this added to the difficulties, without increasing the strength of the defence.

It was at this moment of extreme distress that a deliverer appeared in the person of the Duke d'Albuquerque, who, as I have already said, reached the Isle of Leon on the 3rd of February with the troops which he had brought from Estramadura to the help of Cadiz. His totally unexpected arrival, the general esteem in which he was held, the special affection felt for him by the English, all contributed to revive the courage of the inhabitants and to concentrate their hopes and energies on one single aim. The command-in-chief was conferred on him by the Regency. The terror that had been felt at the approach of the French was gradually dispelled. The means of resistance were calculated up, and the proposed defence no longer seemed rash and foolhardy. The approaches to the Isle of Leon, very difficult in themselves by reason of the marshy nature of the soil, were fortified and strengthened with formidable batteries. The narrow causeway connecting it with the continent was cut through. All the troops were cantoned in the neighbourhood of the village of Isla, as being the most exposed point. A civic guard only remained in Cadiz for the internal garrison and police of the town.

Such was the political and military situation of Cadiz when the French sat down before it, on the 6th of February, to commence the siege. I have already spoken of the inutility of Marshal Victor's summons to surrender, and I have now explained its cause. A more direct attempt made by Marshal Soult was equally unsuccessful. He had written to the Duke of Albuquerque on the 10th of February, once more calling upon him to surrender the town, and proposing an interview. In this letter the Marshal also expressed his compassion for the inhabitants of Cadiz, shut up in a city which would soon be exposed to all the horrors of a siege. He entreated them to trust themselves to the King, and to take advantage, while it was yet time, of his clemency, and of the consideration with which he was disposed to treat them.. Lastly, he warned them to be on their guard against the English, who, under pretext of helping them, sought only to get possession of their ships and their commerce.

The Duke of Albuquerque declined the conference; but he sent a courteously-worded reply to the Marshal, giving him some details which must have convinced the latter of the immense mistake he had made in not marching directly on Cadiz.

"The state of the place is such," wrote the Duke of Albuquerque, "that we have nothing to fear

from an army of a hundred thousand men. There is no comparison between our state of defence at present, and that of a few days since. The Spaniards had powerful means of defence close at hand, and they have made use of them. They no longer rely on the ancient fortifications of Cadiz, but on new and very superior works, which they have increased even to a superfluous strength. The faithful Spanish subjects of Ferdinand VII. will not lay down their arms until they have regained their rights. They have recovered from the alarm caused by the invasion of the French, because they know that they are really masters only of the territory that they actually occupy."

Referring to the interest displayed by the Marshal in the inhabitants of Cadiz, the Duke of Albuquerque said that he ventured in his turn to advise him to renounce an enterprise in which he would sacrifice his men to no purpose.

He alludes also to the insinuations against the English contained in the Marshal's letter.

"The English," he writes, "have no other intention than that of helping us. The defenders of Cadiz are Spaniards, and by their side stand their allies, the English and the Portuguese."

A letter written by the King himself, a few days later, and addressed to influential members of the Junta, which was believed to be still in power, was

no better received than that of the Marshal, and received only the following laconic answer. "The city of Cadiz, faithful to her principles, acknowledges no king but Ferdinand VII."

The failure of these attempts at negotiation did not however prevent further efforts. A deputation, consisting of a certain number of inhabitants of Seville who had been induced to proceed to Cadiz, left Puerto Santa-Maria on the 21st of February. They intended to confer with some of the inhabitants, and to open the way to an agreement. Much was hoped from the influence of Spaniards over their compatriots ; but they were refused admittance into the town, and, greatly to their own satisfaction I believe, the vessel that conveyed them returned in the course of the day without having been able to land its passengers.

Thus our last hope vanished like the others. From that time all political communication came to an end ; and we had to make up our minds to a regular siege, which could not commence in earnest until after long and laborious preparation. The King's presence was quite unnecessary at Santa-Maria, he therefore resolved on returning to Xeres, thence to proceed to Malaga, by crossing the Sierra de la Ronda, and afterwards to make the circuit of the rest of Andalusia, which had just submitted to his authority. But before leaving the neighbourhood

of Cadiz, he made a short excursion, on which I accompanied him, to San-Lucar de Barrameda.

San-Lucar, three leagues to the N.W. of Santa-Maria, is a pretty town, containing 15,000 to 18,000 inhabitants. It is situated at the mouth of the Guadalquivir which forms a fine harbour,* and was formerly the residence of the Dukes of Medina-Sidonia, who owned a great part of the neighbouring estates and villages. It had formerly been the seat of a considerable trade, but since the great prosperity of Cadiz it had lost the privilege of direct trade with the Spanish Colonies, and had been restricted to traffic in Spanish wines, which were despatched to Cadiz, and thence distributed throughout Europe. But the privilege of direct trading with America and the Indies had just been restored to San-Lucar by the Junta, which had been anxious to obtain the support of that important town.

The climate is beautiful, and suitable to American plants, which are easily cultivated. I remarked a nursery ground devoted to their culture near the gates of the town.

On our return from this excursion, we left Santa-Maria on the 25th of February. We returned to

* San-Lucar was a Roman colony under the name of *Fanum Luciferum*. At a priest's house in Ronda I saw a coin medal of the colony, representing a sun with rays. Lucar is evidently a corruption of *luciferum*.

Xeres for the night and on the following morning we set out for Ronda and Malaga. We were accompanied by two or three thousand infantry, and a detachment of cavalry. The road was impassable for artillery. On leaving Xeres and advancing eastwards, we crossed vast pasture lands with numerous herds of cattle. Then we came into the mountains, and after our day's journey passed the night at Arcos de la Frontera. This is a populous town on the summit of a sort of crest overhanging the Guadaleta in the valley below. It is surrounded with a forest of olive-trees, clothing all the neighbouring heights, but its curious situation makes it an inconvenient place of residence. The King was welcomed; a *Te Deum*, at which he was present, was sung in the principal church in his honour.

On the following day, the 27th of February, we went from Arcos to El Bosque. The country is uncultivated but pleasing. Beautiful natural growths make up for the absence of culture. The village of El Bosque is situated among very wild scenery at the foot of the high mountains that we were to cross, but a pretty little stream and some meadows watered by it beautify the valley.

February 28th. From El Bosque to Ronda.—On leaving El Bosque we entered the mountains. The pathways become very rugged, and in some parts dangerous. With a few companions, among whom was

Señor O'Farill, I took the shortest route, while the King made a circuit of two leagues to avoid the most rugged passes. We found ourselves in difficulties that were not readily overcome, but we were rewarded for our exertions by the magnificent scenery through which we passed. Our path led us up to the ridge of Mount San-Cristoval, the highest mountain in the chain known as the Sierra de Tolax. This mountain, on the coast of Spain, is the first European land that is sighted on coming from America. From the col, or puerto, through which we passed and which divides the waters that flow in the ocean from those of the Mediterranean, we descried at a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues the heights of Gibraltar; the Straits, and, in the background, the African coast. The descent commences at the col, and after a long and fatiguing journey, we, at last, reached Grazalema, a little town in the midst of a desert. It is very populous, and contains several manufactories of an inferior kind of cloth which is in great demand. From Grazalema to Ronda the aspect of the country improves, but it is very little cultivated. I noticed some fine forests of cork trees (*Quercus suber*); the bark is an article of commerce.

The situation of Ronda, where we arrived in the afternoon, is most singular. The town is built on a high table-land through which a river runs more than two hundred feet below the soil of the town, in

the deep and almost inaccessible channel it has made for itself. Over this river, called the Guadiaro, a fine bridge connecting the two sides of the town has been built. It consists of one great arch, supported on two immense pillars, rising from the bottom of the valley, and of two smaller side arches on pillars built on the rock. It is very handsome as a whole, and I consider it one of the most remarkable objects in Spain. At the time of my visit to Ronda it had been finished about twelve years. It is said to be 200 feet in height. I counted the stone blocks forming the pillars, as far as the surface of the water, and found that there were two hundred, which, allowing fifteen inches to each, would give a total of 225 feet.

During our stay at Ronda, the neighbourhood was infested with brigands and bands of marauders, composed principally of the scattered remnant of General Arizaga's army. They even attempted to attack the town, but were driven back by the Grenadiers and Voltigeurs of the Royal Guard, and by a detachment of the 2nd Hussars. At the same time reconnoitring parties were sent forward on the road to St. Roque and Gibraltar. After some unimportant engagements, the troops returned to the town, and there was no further cause for alarm. On the whole, the King was well received at Ronda. He there met with a descendant of Montezuma, who bore the

name of that ancient sovereign of Mexico, and attached him to his service in the capacity of Majordomo. He was a handsome man, very tall, with an extremely brown skin, and very pleasant manners.*

The neighbourhood of Ronda, near the fields of Munda, where Cæsar conquered the sons of Pompey, is remarkable for its antiquities. A grotto is shown at a short distance from the town, supposed to be that in which Sextus Pompey took refuge, and where he was killed by a Roman soldier. The spot goes by the name of Cueva de Pompeyo. There are also, at two leagues north of the town, some remains of an amphitheatre, and a temple dedicated to Mars, on the site of the ancient town of Acenipo. Coins are frequently discovered in the neighbourhood of Ronda. A priest of the town had made a rather valuable collection which he showed me; it consisted principally of Phœnician coins and those of the Andalusian colonies.

After a stay of three days at Ronda, we set out on the 3rd of March for Malaga, and passed the night at Casarabonela. We marched in military fashion, fearing to be surprised by the bands who

* Charles V. gave the title of Count to the eldest son of Montezuma, who had become a Christian, together with a second son, and two daughters, who had survived the Emperor of Mexico, their father.

were watching us ; but we were not attacked. The roads between Ronda and Casarabonela are frightful. The village is situated in the midst of barren and gloomy mountains, on the steep side of one of the last of the Sierra di Ronda, that we had just crossed. The streets are steep and rugged. A few waterfalls, by which a great number of mills are worked, lend a little animation to this dreary place.

After leaving it early the next morning, we continued our descent by roads that cannot be called good ; but at the foot of the mountain on which Casarabonela is situated the valley begins to widen, and discloses the sea at its extreme end. It opens considerably after this, and the aspect of the country becomes altogether different. Deserts and stony mountains are succeeded by cultivated districts and by meadow-lands green with the freshness of Spring ; these made us forget our toils of the preceding day. This lovely valley is watered by the river Guadajoz, which flows into the Mediterranean at a short distance from Malaga. It can be forded at two leagues below Casarabonela,* and, for the four that lie between that plain and Malaga, it runs through fertile and well-cultivated plains.

The King made his entry into this large town †

* A fine bridge was in process of construction over the river at two leagues from Malaga. It is probably completed by this time.

† It contained from sixty to seventy thousand inhabitants.

on the 4th of March, and was received with a welcome far surpassing all that might have been expected from a submissive and devoted people. The streets were strewn with flowers, and hung with tapestry; at the windows were elegantly-dressed women waving their handkerchiefs; cries of "Viva el rey!" joyous shouts were uttered on all sides, and if Joseph Napoleon could ever have regarded himself as the real sovereign of Spain, it was certainly at that moment. A ball and a bull-fight* were given in his honour; and nothing that adulation could offer was omitted.

Malaga, where we made a stay of several days, is situated at the end of the valley through which runs the Guadajoz. The sea is to the south west, and to the west are the high mountains of the Sierra de Ronda, that we had just crossed. The harbour is small, formed artificially by a pier that juts out into the sea from west to east; but the anchorage is both deep and secure, and it affords shelter to men-of-war, which are moored to the jetty. The town is well built, with straight though narrow streets; rather an advantage in so hot a climate. The Alameda, with fine houses on each

* Curiosity induced me to witness once more this barbarous form of amusement that I had already seen at Santa-Maria. I could not, however, endure it, and I left the place before the bull-fight was over. But it is a delight to Spaniards; they have a passion for it, which must be gratified at any cost.

side, and planted with orange-trees and sweet-smelling shrubs, interspersed with fountains, is used as the public promenade. The Cathedral is the most remarkable building; it is of mixed Greek and Gothic architecture, in which an abundance of ornament is combined with elegance and lightness. The environs of Malaga are charming; the land is highly cultivated and the vineyards produce the celebrated wine, which, together with lemons, oranges, raisins, and almonds, form a very considerable export trade. Sugar-cane is grown in the fields, especially at Velez, and in sufficient quantity to supply several sugar factories. The canes are usually sold in the market-places. In times of prosperity the Malaga Custom House yielded thirty million reals to the exchequer treasury of the Kings of Spain.

We left this delightful spot for Antequera, on the 13th of March. The road follows the course of the Guadajoz, ascending towards the source of the river. It was constructed at great cost through the mountains; it spans several streams and is a triumph of art over nature. Olive-trees, almond-trees, and vines are grown on the sides of the mountains; and in every uncultivated spot the ground is covered with rare and lovely plants, which fill the air with their sweet scents. It was early Spring, yet the heat was powerful enough to

render our progress fatiguing. The rye and barley was in ear, and the almond-trees were laden with fruit.

Antequera, which is situated at the entrance of a plain stretching northwards, is a well-built town of average size. It contains nearly five thousand 'vecinos' or heads of families, which, multiplied by four, to represent the family of which the vecino is the head, gives about twenty thousand inhabitants. The town is built on the site of the ancient Anticaria of the Romans, and was long in possession of the Moors. It was taken from them, in 1411, by the Infante Don Fernando, who subsequently ascended the throne of Arragon, and bore for many years in memory of this conquest the surname of the Infante of Antequera.

The Castle, at the South side of the town, was originally built by the Moors, but little of their work remains. The mosque has been converted into a church under the invocation of San-Salvador. A collegiate church of fairly good modern architecture has been raised within the precincts of the Castle. There are several framed boards placed against the walls in the latter church, bearing, in large type, the names and rank of persons condemned by the Antequera Inquisition, with the date of the judgment against them. The inscription states the individuals who were really executed

and those who only suffered in effigy. I counted more than twenty of these lists.

The Castle gate is of good modern architecture, and, on the right of the gateway, a portion of the building is in the Italian style, with a pretty *loggia*, the whole in excellent taste. To the side walls of the gateway have been fixed several inscriptions that were found near Antequera, or on the site of the neighbouring ancient towns of Singila, Nescania, Ilura and Aurica. They bear the names of Caligula, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan and Adrian. A modern inscription gives the date, 1635, at which this collection of antiquities was made.

In addition to these ancient remains, there is a grotto on the left side of the road to Grenada, which is known as the Cueva de Minga. It is said to date from the most ancient times, and is certainly neither of Arabian nor Roman construction. Local tradition attributes it to the Carthaginians. But on visiting this curious edifice, I arrived at the conclusion that it had been originally a temple whose roof was much more lofty, before the soil had risen by the crumbling of the walls.

After remaining two days at Antequera we left it on the 15th of March, and passed that night at Loxa, about half-way on the road to Grenada. We crossed the

Vega d'Ante-queira,* a well-cultivated plain. At about a quarter of a league from the town we came in sight of a kind of ruined portico, known in the country as los Carniceros del Moro.† There is however nothing Moorish about it; it is evidently the remains of some Roman monument. We next skirted a very high and very steep rock, standing solitary in the plain, called the Pena de los Enamorados.‡ An old legend relates that two lovers, being pursued, cast themselves from its summit. There are some verses on the subject in the romance of (Gonzalve de Cordoue) by Florian.

Loxa is a small town on the banks of the Genil, built partly in a semicircle on the left bank of the river, and partly on a plain on the right bank. The two parts of the town are united by a very fine bridge. In the middle there is an inscription stating that it was begun in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1505, and finished under Charles V. in 1522. The territory of Loxa is fertile, but very circumscribed. Almost immediately on leaving the town, on our way to Grenada, we found ourselves among barren moorlands until we reached Lecher, where our road lay by the banks of the Genil, and

* The name of Vega is given to cultivated plains in the vicinity of the large Spanish towns.

† The Moors' slaughter houses.

‡ The Lovers' Rock.

the scenery improves. At two leagues distance from Grenada, we came to Santa Fé, a town founded by Ferdinand the Great, to compete with Grenada. But in spite of all the King's endeavours to draw thither the population of the older town, Santa Fé has always held a very inferior rank.

We made our entry into Grenada on the 16th of March at 2 P.M. The weather was magnificent, and the whole population turned out to meet the King and gave him as warm a welcome as that which he had received at Malaga.

Grenada is on the right bank of the north of the Genil. The Darro, a mountain torrent, traverses the town and passing through Plaza-Nueva, partly underground, and partly above, flows into the Genil at the southern side of the town. Grenada is commanded on the east and north by high mountains, forming part of the Sierra Nevada, the loftiest range in Spain, and so called because it is never altogether free from snow. The last hills of the chain are contiguous to the town, of which the most ancient part, the Albayzin, is built on the hill itself. The Alhambra, the Generalife, the palace and gardens of the Moors, and a few fortresses, are situated on its steepest side on the left bank of the Darro, which runs at its foot.

From this sketch of the situation of the town, it will be easily understood to be most picturesque, and

that the air must be keen and the temperature cool in summer. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, the abundance of water and the beautiful promenades, Grenada, on the whole, is gloomy: the streets are narrow, the houses of poor appearance, and, with the exception of the cathedral and the Alhambra, few of the public buildings call for remark. In short, I was disappointed in this celebrated town.

Grenada contains 14,000 vecinos, or about 56,000 inhabitants, besides monks and priests in considerable number, who bring up the population to 60,000 souls.

I shall now make a few remarks on the objects of art which alone can be of any interest to the reader.

The cathedral of Grenada is extremely beautiful. Enormous pillars, consisting of four columns of Corinthian architecture, resting on very high pedestals, support the roof. These pillars, in parallel lines, form five naves; the largest and central one containing the choir and the high altar. This is placed in a sort of round point detached from the general design, and is formed by arched domes of extreme lightness, which are carried up to the roof. The effect is admirable. On the whole the interior is picturesque, although the architectural details are bad.

Malaga Cathedral, of which I have already spoken, was copied from that of Grenada; but its pillars, and especially the clerestory above them, are of much

greater height, thus giving more boldness and lightness to the building. In size and majesty, however, it is surpassed by its original.* Both these churches are the work of one architect, Siloe, who lived in the reign of Charles V., and was the precursor of the Herreras and the other architects of the Escorial. A magnificent chapel, contiguous to the cathedral, and called the Chapel Royal, contains the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Philip the Fair and Juana (called *la Loca*, or the Fool), the daughter of Ferdinand, and mother of Charles V. Both monuments were raised by Charles V. They are in white marble, and were executed by Torregiano, and various other Italian artists at Genoa, whence they were conveyed to Spain. The work is, in general, good; the decoration is rich, and the statues are in good taste. There is, however, no allegory in the composition. The tombs stand on a large pedestal and bear the recumbent figures of the princes whose remains they enclose. At each side of the principal altar in the chapel are the kneeling, praying figures of Ferdinand and Isabella, carved in wood. Above each is a kind of banner. That of Ferdinand bears the representation of a yoke for oxen with its traces. Isabella's represents a sheaf of eleven arrows, six crossed by five, and tied together in the middle by a knot.

* Both cathedrals are amplified copies of that at Jaen, which is the real original.

Both banners have the same motto : *Tanto monta*. These two emblems formed the seal of the king and queen, and the motto common to both, *Tanto monta*, signified that one was of as much worth as the other. Bas-reliefs in wood ornament the sides of the altar. They represent the principal events of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, especially those relating to the conquest of Grenada in 1492. Among these are the handing over of the keys of the town, the baptism of the converted Moors, etc. In the bas-relief, representing the handing over the keys, Isabella is depicted on horseback, by the side of Ferdinand, and likewise Cardinal Don Gonzales de Mendoza.

The chapel is interesting and recalls memorable events. It is divided from the cathedral by a handsome iron railing, remarkable for the fine execution of the figures and ornaments forming part of its design. The artist's name, Master Bartolomé, is inscribed on one of the centre pillars. On the doors of two splendid reliquaries are four beautiful paintings by Albert Durer. The reliquaries, which are of very fine workmanship, are secured by three locks ; the key of one is in the custody of the Dean ; the second key is held by the Archbishop and the third by the Governor of the Alhambra. Their doors are never opened, except on great occasions. King Joseph's visit was one, of course.

The Palace and stronghold of the Moorish kings of Grenada, is called the Alhambra.* It stands on a hill to the east of the town and within a walled-enclosure of immense size. We first came, at the foot of the hill, to a gate built by Charles V., and, after crossing a pleasant wood with splashing fountains, we entered the original enclosure, through a gate of Moorish architecture. On reaching the esplanade the palace commenced by Charles V. is the first striking object. The only portion that has been completed is in perfect taste, and of great beauty. There is a very remarkable circular court, formed by two rows of pillars, one above the other, the first of the Doric, and the second of the Ionic order. It is one of the finest achievements of modern architecture now existing in Europe. The external façade is simple and majestic. The basement and spaces between the pillars are carved in bas-relief. The whole is of Spanish marbles. It is said that when Charles V. undertook to erect this splendid pile, from designs of Italian masters, he intended it to surpass all the Moorish buildings in the surrounding country, and he would no doubt have succeeded had he had time to complete it.†

* This is an Arab word signifying *red* or *coloured*, either from the red colour of the soil of the country, or that the palace was built or inhabited by a Moorish king surnamed Rufus, or red-haired.

† Opposite the palace of Charles V. are the prisons. I visited

To the left of the modern palace is the Moorish palace of the Alhambra. This is the most important relic of the rule of the Moors in Spain now remaining. The Alhambra was the seat of the power, of the love intrigues, and of the splendour of the kings of Grenada. In every part of it are traces of the peculiar tastes and of the grandeur of the Moorish nation, at a period when the rest of Europe was still sunk in ignorance and barbarism.

The most remarkable and the best preserved portions of this palace are as follows.

that one in which the unfortunate General Franceschi had been confined. He had been taken prisoner, the year preceding, by a guerilla band. During his captivity he had drawn the story of his capture on the prison walls. The style was grand as well as correct, and the pictures very spirited. They were well worthy of preservation. Marshal Soult had given orders to have them copied, and intended to have them engraved. I do not know whether his intentions were carried out. If he relinquished them, he deprived the world of a wonderful proof of the philosophy as well as of the talent of one of the most distinguished and most lamented officers of our army.

When the French troops, under Sebastiani, entered Grenada, Franceschi was removed to Malaga, whence he was put on board ship for Minorca; but he died during the crossing. His wife was a daughter of General Mathieu Dumas. She displayed greatness of soul as well as conjugal devotion, by the efforts she made to obtain her husband's release from prison. Her exertions were unfortunately fruitless. Madame Franceschi survived only a short time the husband whom her heroic devotion had failed to save.

The entrance court with its two porticoes and a great basin of running water in the centre.

The principal apartment, called the Hall of the Ambassadors, opens on the court. It is square, with a vaulted roof and is decorated with arabesques, mottoes and Arabic inscriptions in stucco.

The Court of Lions, so called from the fountain in the centre with a basin supported by eight lions, is oblong, and surrounded by porticoes supported by numerous pillars, with a projecting peristyle at either end. The effect, to our unaccustomed eyes, was novel and quaint.

Three apartments communicate with the Court of Lions. One, on the west side, is called *La Sala de las Dos Hermanas*, the Hall of the Two Sisters. The name is derived from two very large pieces of marble, which were sawn from one block, and form part of the pavement. The walls are elegantly decorated, like the rest of the building, with arabesques, and other designs in stucco.

The second apartment, to the east of the Court and containing a fountain in the centre, is known as the Hall of the Abencerrages. It is alleged that thirty-six knights of the family of the Abencerrages were decapitated in this hall, on the false testimony of their rivals the Zegrís, who accused one of the knights of a love intrigue with the Sultana, and the others of conspiring against the life of Boabdil, the

child-king of Grenada. The novel or romance of *Les Guerres civiles de Grenade* was founded on this anecdote, true or false. Some red stains on the marble basin of the fountain were pointed out to me as being the blood of the Abencerrages. This miracle is attributed to their having professed themselves Christians at the moment of death.

Lastly, the third apartment on the north side of the court is called the Hall of the Tribunal. It is noticeable chiefly for the somewhat rough paintings on the vaulted roof which were thought to be of Arabic origin ; but they are probably the work of a slave who obtained permission to decorate the arches, at the period when the art of painting was beginning to revive in Europe.

The Baths, and the Tocador, or dressing-room of the Sultana, are also worth visiting. The latter apartment, which is a very pretty room, surrounded with porticoes, is built on one of the steepest parts of the hill, and commands a delightful view of the town and the beautiful country around. It was restored and modernised in the time of Charles V., and decorated with fresco paintings of great beauty. These have been attributed to Titian, and are not unworthy of his brush. But they are in fact the work of Julian and Alexander, pupils of Juan of Udine. When I saw them they were unfortunately

much torn and defaced, through the carelessness of the guardians of the place.

I must say a few words on another Moorish building, the Generalife,* situated on the hill called the Silla del Moro, or the Moor's saddle.† It is divided from the Alhambra by a deep ravine, and was a country retreat belonging to the Moorish kings of Grenada. It contains several halls and galleries in the Arabian style, similar to that of the Alhambra. Pleasant, though small gardens, and beautiful fountains make it a delightful dwelling-place. At the time of my visit it was the property of the Marquis de Teja, to whose ancestors it had been a gift from the Most Catholic King.

On leaving the Generalife I extended my walk to the summit of Silla del Moro. From this spot there is a splendid view of Grenada, of the fertile Vega surrounding the town, and of the neighbouring mountains. It is the best point from which to judge of and to admire the country.

After spending a fortnight at Grenada, we left it on the 30th of March, for Jaen. Our way at first lay through lovely scenery, part of the fertile country called the Soto de Roma. The fields are irrigated by

* From the Arabic word *genet*, garden.

† Although the Alhambra and the Generalife are built on hills, they receive an abundant supply of water from the Sierra Nevada.

canals. The course of the Genil, marked by trees and an advanced state of cultivation, presents an aspect of universal abundance and fertility. But these delightful scenes, framed as they are by the Sierra Nevada on the horizon, are of no great extent. On reaching Pino-Fuente, we found ourselves again among the mountains. Barren and desolate slopes succeed to the beautiful scenery which seems to vanish from the gaze of the traveller. The country improves a little as one approaches Jaen, which we reached on the 1st of April. We had passed the night of the 30th of March at Alcala la Real, and the succeeding night at Martos, two unimportant little towns.

Jaen stands at the foot of a mountain, on whose summit a fortress built by the Moors is still in existence.

The environs of the town have nothing to recommend them, its streets are narrow and its houses badly built. The cathedral only is worthy of attention. It is more ancient than those of Grenada and Malaga, for both of which it served as a model, and the model is superior to the copies, for, in the endeavour to surpass the original in lightness and in size, the simple majesty of Jaen has been lost. The name of the builder is unknown. It is only known that the work, begun by him in 1492, was carried on, according to his designs, after his death, by Castillo de Valdeverra.

At Jaen we brought our excursion in Andalusia to conclusion. It had lasted over a month. We returned to Andujar on the 3rd of April, still undecided whether we should proceed to Madrid or return to Seville. I must explain the reasons of our uncertainty and those of our subsequent decision. I will also explain the political position on our return from Andalusia. During our journeyings, it had become greatly altered; but I have not entered on the subject as yet, so as not to interrupt the course of my narrative. Full particulars will be found in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

News from Paris concerning the Emperor's intentions with regard to Spain disperse the delusions respecting the King's position, to which his journey through Andalusia had given rise—An Imperial Decree of February 8, 1810, precedes the dismemberment of Spain by Napoleon—The Author vainly endeavours to persuade Joseph to relinquish the throne of Spain—On the occasion of the Emperor's marriage with Marie Louise, the King sends the Duke of Santa-Fé to Paris, and directs him at the same time to negotiate the revocation of the decree of February 8—Having arrived at Andujar, the King, acting on the advice of Marshal Soult, decides on returning to Seville—He is coldly received—Death of M. de Cabarrus, Minister of Finance—The King returns to Madrid—The Duke of Santa-Fé fails in his negotiation—The King tries in vain to oppose the severe measures of the Emperor—Ferdinand VII., banished to Valensay, asks for the hand of a niece of the Emperor—Napoleon is not unwilling, but the young lady refuses her consent—The King despatches the Marquis d'Almenara with a kind of ultimatum to his brother—Constant encroachments of the French Generals on the authority of the King—The Emperor demands the cession of the Spanish provinces on the left bank of the Ebro, in exchange for Portugal—The King declines the proposition—The King journeys to Guadalaxara—Alcala de Henarez—On returning to Madrid the King despatches M. Clary to Paris, bearing a letter to Queen Julia, in which he requests her to inform the Emperor that

he intends to leave Spain, unless his position there be altered—Massena's expedition to Portugal—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of the English to the unassailable passes of the Torres-Vedras—Wretched condition of the French army in Portugal—Santa-Fé and Almenara return to Madrid—Propositions of the Emperor made through the Marquis d'Almenara—They are debated in a private council, found to be impossible of execution, and rejected—The Author again endeavours to induce the King to leave Spain, or to repair to Paris to treat personally with the Emperor; the King cannot make up his mind to this and continues to temporise.

WHILE the King was receiving the homage of the Andalusian people, while Malaga, Grenada, and Jaen were vying in their homage, and offering all kinds of fêtes in his honour, and that he, deceived by these flattering symptoms, was gladly delaying his progress, and seemed rather a beloved sovereign visiting his provinces than a conqueror at the head of a foreign army, accounts coming from Paris were far from favourable to the hopes which the events happening in his immediate presence seemed to justify. He was informed that even were the people of Spain sincerely disposed to acknowledge him as their king, the Emperor would never consent to his retaining the rights and independence implied by that title. In truth, how could the King expect to retain the undivided sway of the vast kingdom of Spain, when he who alone could lend the strength necessary to hold it was not inclined to bestow it on him? The arguments used by Joseph to draw the Spanish to

him were principally these. "That they should distrust the English, who under a feint of helping them, concealed their design of seizing on their trade and their colonies; while, on the contrary, they had nothing to fear from the French, who were as much interested as themselves in their prosperity, and who would attempt nothing against their independence, against the integrity of their territory in Europe, or their possessions in both the Indies." This was the habitual text of his long speeches to the deputations and to the various authorities of the country. While he had been exhausting himself in convincing the people of these things, the Emperor with one word had destroyed the result of his labours.

As we have previously seen, the Emperor had neither given or withheld his approval of the Andalusian expedition. But when he was assured of its success, he endeavoured to utilise it for the accomplishment of his own personal designs, which were entirely opposed to those of his brother. The latter wished to make a purely moral conquest, and affected to regard the Spanish people as erring subjects who had now returned to their allegiance. The Emperor, on the contrary, looked on them only as a conquered people whom he might dispose of as he chose. Joseph intended to apply the wealth of the Andalusian provinces to the establishment and maintenance of his government: Napoleon wanted it

for the pay and the enriching of his own troops; at most he consented to hand over the surplus to the King. But what surplus could there be? The needs of the soldiers, and the greed of their chiefs, were alike boundless.

Thus, at the very moment when Joseph was lavishing assurances and promises, and everywhere extolling the thorough disinterestedness of France, severe and crushing exactions were being laid on the provinces in our occupation. An iron hand was grinding them to the dust. The King's tone of regal independence, in his proclamation to the French soldiers, from Seville, had displeased the Emperor, who had allowed it to be published with restrictions, by which his sentiments on the subject might easily be estimated. In the copy published in the *Moniteur*, every allusion to the victories gained under the King's rule in Spain is omitted. The confident words uttered in the flush of success, "*I shall reign over Spain*," have disappeared. The word 'conquest,' that had been so carefully suppressed, is restored. In the emphatic sentence where a third column is spoken of as an addition to the pillars of Hercules, there is no mention of Spaniards being saved, of natural allies being recovered, but only of Spain being conquered; and the imaginary pillar that was to be a monument of peace and unity, is converted into a trophy of victory over a fallen enemy.

This attack on the King's conduct, and the principles by which he had guided it, would alone have been sufficient to denote the intentions of the Emperor; but he declared them still more clearly by another and more momentous act. So soon as he was informed of the passage of the Sierra-Morena, he suddenly changed the form of administration in Spain. From the time of the Stipulations of Bayonne in 1808 the King's authority was supposed to extend, both civilly and judicially, over all the provinces in the occupation of the French. There was no political division made in the Monarchy; France acknowledged, or appeared to acknowledge, in the Sovereign she had placed on the throne, the same powers that had been exercised by his predecessor.

A decree of the 8th of February, 1810, completely altered that system, and the Emperor openly took his share in the conquest of Spain, which he then looked upon as complete. The decree was based on the excessive cost of the army in Spain, impoverishing to the French treasury, which received nothing from the revenues of the country, and it commanded the formation of four large governments—Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre and Biscay—placing French Generals at their head with full civil and military authority. This was, in fact, to bring the provinces in question, which are all, so to speak, bounded by the Ebro, under the rule of France, and to effect a

practical dismemberment of Spain, until a *Senatus-Consultum* should declare its union with the Empire.

The King received this decree at Ronda, and communicated it to me during our sojourn at Malaga. I perceived how deadly was the blow which it inflicted on him. If among the Spaniards there were any who had joined his cause in good faith, it would become impossible for them to adhere to it without openly betraying their country. The semblance of independence, of integrity to Spanish territory, that had so often been put forward as a justification for the change of dynasty, was vanishing. The King was powerless to resist this open violation of the promises which had been made to him, and of the pledges which he was daily giving, and in my opinion he had no other means of clearing himself from the accusation of consenting to it but that of laying down the crown. He could not continue to wear it, without admitting his participation in the Emperor's views. To remain on the throne, was to declare that he was conniving at the dismemberment of the Monarchy, and would be satisfied with what was left, so that he might retain the title of king.

In a conversation with him on this subject, at Malaga, I candidly gave him my opinion. "This is the only course you can adopt," I said, "and you should take it at once. It affords an honourable

retreat from a country to which your presence seems to have brought nothing but misfortune. Profit by this opportunity of separating your cause in the sight of Europe from that of the real author of these calamities. Fortune herself seems to have contrived this happy issue for you. Your brilliant campaign, your warm reception in Andalusia, your humane and unassuming behaviour—all these things contribute to lend an honourable and reasonable aspect to your withdrawal from Spain, and your departure will be witnessed perhaps with regret, but at least with sincere wishes for your welfare.”

My endeavours failed. The Emperor's recent marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria gave the King an opportunity of despatching an Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris, and in the hope of obtaining a revocation of the decree, he delayed taking any decisive resolution. Therefore he carefully concealed the information he had received, and we continued to be warmly welcomed by the crowds, who pressed eagerly about us in every town.

Such was the state of our relations with France, when, as I have related in the last chapter, we reached Andujar on the 3rd of April, 1810. We remained there for three days. It was there that the King fixed on M. d'Asanza, the Minister of the Indies, as his Ambassador to Paris. He created him at the

same time Duke of Santa-Fé and Knight of the Golden Fleece. The negotiation that was entrusted to him, in addition to the congratulations on the marriage of the Emperor that he was to convey, could not have been placed in the hands of a more upright man, or one more capable of stating the truth ; but success in it was beyond his power and beyond the power of any man. The decision just taken by the Emperor was part of a well-matured purpose that nothing could shake. The candour and uprightness of the negotiator, who made known at Paris the contents of a memorandum that had been written without reserve, and intended only for instructions to himself, was in fact injurious to the cause he came to plead ; at any rate it was used as a pretext for refusing all concessions.*

After despatching the Duke of Santa-Fé to Paris, the King was doubtful whether to proceed to Madrid, on leaving Andujar, or to return to Seville. He was rather in favour of the former alternative, but on representations made to him by Marshal Soult, he determined on the latter. He was assured that his presence at Seville would hasten the surrender of

* The memorandum had been drawn up by M d'Urquijo. I have read it, and the style certainly was both improper and offensive to France. The Duke of Cadore, Minister of Exterior Relations, returned it with the note that accompanied it, to the Duke of Santa-Fé, saying, that such a production could not be suffered to remain in the archives of the department.

Cadiz; that, although all negotiations had hitherto been rejected by the Junta, some fortunate circumstances might occur which would induce the Junta to entertain them, and that, in such a case, to have to send to Madrid for final approval would jeopardise a successful issue. On the other hand, Andalusia possessed far greater resources for replenishing the treasury than the exhausted provinces of the centre. Those of the north could no longer be reckoned on, since the Emperor had just claimed exclusive dominion over them. Such arguments as these, plausibly set forth, convinced the King. He took the Marshal's advice, gave commands to Count Cabarrus, his Minister of Finance, to join him at Seville, and set out himself for that city on the 11th of April. But the motives put forward by the Marshal, although real up to a certain point, were not the only ones on which he acted. If the King proceeded to Madrid from Andujar, Marshal Soult as Major-General must accompany him thither. Such a post suited him no longer. His secret ambition was to establish himself in Andalusia, in command of the army that must remain in order to hold possession of that valuable conquest. Meanwhile a certain period of time was necessary to obtain the King's acquiescence in the project, and at Seville only could he be brought to sanction it. Such a post, doubtless, could not be conferred on an abler soldier, nor on one

better fitted to fill it; but at the same time it would render him more independent and powerful than the King himself. Subsequent events proved that Joseph could not have selected a less submissive lieutenant, nor have provided a rival with more formidable resources. We travelled slowly back to Seville, whither the King arrived on the 11th of April. He was somewhat coldly received. The defence of Cadiz, and the rumours of the Emperor's designs on Spain, had opened the eyes of the people, and it was all in vain that to please them the King was present, during Easter-tide, at all the striking and theatrical religious ceremonies of that period. He was none the more warmly received, and meanwhile he was more than ever occupied with the cares of government. He held frequent councils, to which I was generally summoned. I was even commanded to draw up a project for the division of Spain into departments, and for regulating the interior administration as in France. This project, which comprised the provinces forming the four great governments that the Emperor had reserved to himself, was passed and published as a kind of protest against that usurpation.

On M. Cabarrus' arrival various questions of finance were brought forward. But scarcely had we begun to debate them, than he fell ill, and died in less than five days. His death occurred on the 27th

of April. He was buried with public honours in Seville Cathedral.

M. de Cabarrus was of French origin. He was created Count by Charles III. He had great talents, great aptitude for business, and was an indefatigable worker; but he was said to be deficient in judgment, and in the necessary strength of character for managing affairs in cases of difficulty. He thoroughly understood the finances of Spain, and would probably have administered them with ability under the former Monarchy; but he was quite incapable of doing so in the confusion that followed on the conquest. He could never have released himself from the trammels of the routine in which he had been brought up, and he had neither studied nor appreciated the French system, which would necessarily be introduced into Spain. It is principally to this defect that we must attribute the errors into which he fell after joining the Ministry. Had his death occurred a couple of years earlier, it would have been considered as a very serious loss, because he was the only man of financial repute who had attached himself to the cause of Joseph, and had adhered to it. But when it occurred, it produced no sensation. Placed in a post unsuited to him, M. de Cabarrus had lost the prestige of his former reputation, and had not acquired any other. He owed his first distinction in Spain to many natural gifts and to

most agreeable manners. In his off-handed treatment of business, and especially in his desire of pleasing all those in authority, he much resembled M. de Calonne.*

After the death of M. de Cabarrus, the King remained but a short time at Seville. The siege of Cadiz was making no progress; the financial measures had been adjourned; there was no longer any reason for detaining the government in Andalusia, and Marshal Soult, on whom the command of the army had devolved, was as impatient to see us depart from Seville as he had been to bring us thither. We therefore set out for Madrid on the 2nd of May.

We travelled along the same roads, or nearly so, that had brought us into Andalusia. We did not, however, pass through Toledo, and this deviation caused us to traverse part of La Mancha, and especially Puerto-Lapiche, the scene of the exploits of Don Quixote. It was in this spot that Cervantes' hero received knighthood. Shortly before our arrival, the hostelry depicted by the author as the scene of the ceremony, was still standing, and on the door was an inscription recalling the supposed incident. Both hostelry and inscription had disappeared during the

* M. de Cabarrus was the father of the celebrated Thérèse Cabarrus, wife of Tallien, and afterwards Princesse de Chimay. At the time of his death he was in his sixty-seventh year.

war, and Puerto-Lapiche was at that time a mere heap of ruins.

The King reached Madrid on the 14th of May, and returned from the expedition, which had begun so well, with a melancholy conviction that he would always find his brother's will an invincible obstacle to the accomplishment of his designs. Far from yielding to the representations made to him by the Duke of Santa-Fé, the Emperor increased the severity of the measures which by the decree of the 8th of February, 1810, he had already taken in Spain. By a second decree he added two new governments, Burgos and Valladolid, to the four he had at first named. And in like manner as he had dealt with Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscay, he appointed intendants and receivers-general of finance, so that every vestige of the former government was swept away.

At the same time, the Emperor decreed a new organisation of the French forces in Spain. Hitherto the nine army corps,* stationed in different provinces, had all formed part of one single army, of which the King, as Lieutenant-General of the Emperor, was, at any rate nominally, the Commander-in-Chief. Thenceforth each province was to

* Besides the eight army corps that had long been stationed in Spain, a ninth had been formed at the beginning of 1810, under the command of General Drouet.

have its separate army, under the command of a general, absolute in military authority, subject only to Major-General the Prince of Neufchatel, and also possessing the civil authority in those provinces that had been organised as governments.

From that period six armies, completely independent of each other, were established in the Peninsula, viz :

The Army of Catalonia (the 7th corps).

The Army of Aragon (3rd corps. They had taken Saragossa).

The Army of the South (1st, 4th, and 5th corps).

The Armies of the North and of Portugal (2nd, 6th, 8th, and 9th corps).

The Army of the Centre.

The latter was the least numerous ; it consisted of the Reserve, the Royal Guard, and a few battalions of the dépôt, and remained under the immediate command of the King. Thus Joseph was in reality reduced to the position of Commandant of one army, and his authority did not extend beyond the provinces occupied by the Army of the Centre. Like all the other Commanders, his first duty was to support his troops out of the revenues of his provinces, and he could only apply the surplus to the needs of his government. Even Andalusia, where he had believed himself to be more really a King than elsewhere, was passing into the hands of Marshal Soult,

who, as the head of the Army of the South, was the true sovereign of that beautiful and wealthy province. On his return to Madrid, as I have said, the King felt that the expedition to Andalusia, which had opened so auspiciously, had brought to him the grievous conviction that he was but a puppet in the hands of his brother, and that he would never be permitted to fulfil the engagements he had publicly made.

Yet he did not endure these encroachments on his authority without some attempts at resistance. He even tried to brave the Emperor by passing some decrees in which he expressed himself more strongly than he had ever before expressed himself as a King and independent Sovereign. I have already spoken of his Seville Decree, regulating the division of the Spanish territory, and the interior administration of the country, without excepting those provinces which the Emperor had just erected into governments. On his return to Madrid, he organised several Spanish regiments and a civic guard for the capital, with the intention of dispensing with the French garrison.* But these efforts did not and could not succeed. Power was in the hands of the French generals, who took their orders from the Emperor only, and the

* At this period also, in order to please the people of Madrid, the Government gave permission for bull-fights, which had been forbidden under Charles IV.

King's decrees received no more consideration in Catalonia and Aragon than they would have received in Galicia, or the Asturias, where we had no troops. Nor did the creation of a civic guard at Madrid prevent the French, who held the fortress of the Retiro, from ruling over the town also.

These various measures, as might be expected, only increased the Emperor's resentment against his brother. An officer of the staff of Major-General the Prince of Neufchatel, who brought to the King a duplicate decree for the institution of the new governments of Burgos and Valladolid, handed him at the same time a letter from the Prince, in which he was informed that the Emperor formally disapproved the King's orders for the armament of the Spaniards, and which notified several military regulations, all of which tended to remove the army beyond the influence of the King.

That, although the Emperor had quite resolved on retaining part of Spain under his direct rule, he had not at that period made up his mind as to the means of carrying this out, a curious circumstance which came to my knowledge proves. Ferdinand VII., who had been sent off to Valençay, had asked the Emperor for one of his kinswomen in marriage. At the time of this demand, Lucien Bonaparte's two daughters were in Paris, their father having consented to their residence

there, and the Emperor had promised to dispose of them in marriage. He offered Prince Ferdinand as a husband to the eldest, and on her consent, would have adopted the Spanish Prince as a son. The young girl refused, and declared she would "never give her hand to a parricide." "In that case," she was told, "you have no other alternative than to go to America."

"So be it!" she replied, "I will go to America." On this all negotiations were broken off, and shortly afterwards, in August 1810, Lucien Buonaparte and his family sailed for the United States.* On the refusal of his niece, the Emperor endeavoured to arrange a marriage between Ferdinand and a princess of the House of Austria, but this project also failed. The two attempts prove that the Emperor was not averse to the idea of replacing Ferdinand on the throne, on condition of obtaining, as the price of his restoration, all that part of Spain which was suited to France, and which was already, as it were, indicated by the six governments he had just established. This would have been a speedy method of bringing the war to a conclusion, and he counted on more deference from Ferdinand than he met with from his brother, who daily declared himself more strongly against dismemberment, and was resolved

* On the voyage Lucien was taken prisoner by the English, and conveyed to England.

never to agree to any arrangement of the kind. The abdication of the King of Holland, who, weary of his brother's yoke, had voluntarily given up his throne, made Napoleon fear that the King of Spain might follow his example, and he wished either to be beforehand with him, or if this could not be, to be ready at any rate to take advantage of the occurrence.

Owing to all these causes, the King's position was becoming more and more unbearable, and he resolved on despatching the Marquis of Almenara, father-in-law of Marshal Duroc, to the Emperor, trusting that his envoy's relationship to a man who enjoyed the Emperor's confidence might tend to the success of the negotiation. The Marquis was the bearer of a despatch, which was shown me, containing a kind of ultimatum. The King set forth the absolute impossibility of his continuing to reign, in the position forced on him by the various measures taken by the Emperor with regard to the greater number of the Spanish provinces. He demanded the revocation of those measures, and that the authority over the French generals originally conferred on him should be restored. He declared, in conclusion, that if his demands were rejected, he would relinquish the crown, and leave the country.

The language of this letter was noble and temperate ; it bore the impress of truth. I appreciated it fully, yet I had not the least hope of success. " If

the Emperor had been willing to speak," I said to the King, "he would have spoken long ago. The Duke of Santa Fé has been four months in Paris. The Emperor knows him, and in fact treats him with a certain consideration, and yet has refused to listen to him. He is clearly resolved on declining any explanation with a third person. The only way of obtaining one is by going to him yourself. Sooner or later you will be forced to do this, and the longer you put it off, the greater will be your own reluctance, and the greater the difficulties you will have to overcome."

Notwithstanding these arguments, M. d'Almenara was despatched, and the King persuaded himself that his envoy's ability, and the influence of his son-in-law, would bring about some fortunate issue. In any event, time was gained; and the King's strongest desire was to put off the decisive moment.

Meanwhile, Joseph felt his position growing more untenable every day. The disordered state of affairs, the discontent and complaints of the Government employés, who were not paid their salaries, the ruinous expedients to which we were driven in order to procure money, the requisitions, and forced loans, made regular administration impossible, and threw everything into confusion. There was every sign of the decadence of a government, which, rejected both by the French and the immense majority

of the Spaniards, was an object of ridicule to the former and dislike to the latter.

Every day also the power of the French generals increased, and their independent attitude became more marked. An aide-de-camp of the Prince de Neufchatel, who was bearing to Marshal Soult the decree appointing him to the command of the army of the South, had, indeed, on his way through Madrid, handed the King a letter from the Prince, in which, after informing him of this new arrangement, he went on to assure him that it would only be in force during the absence of the King, and that whenever he was present with an army corps, the command would revert to him. But as such an occasion might never happen, since the King could not leave his capital without serious inconvenience, this modification of the principle on which the Emperor was acting was rather apparent than real, and the blow struck at the King's authority was none the less deadly.

Joseph's anger at this new affront was perceptible (notwithstanding all his efforts to restrain it) in his speeches; and on the Emperor's fête-day, which was publicly celebrated on the 15th of August, 1810, he addressed the various authorities and the crowds assembled at the palace, and spoke with extreme heat of the state of affairs in Spain, and of the alarming reports which represented him as being

on terms of open hostility with the Emperor, and on the point of making some desperate resolve. He endeavoured to remove this impression ; but he was unable to hide his annoyance with the French administrators and generals, and above all with the financial agents, and the various sentiments by which he was agitated rose constantly to the surface. "I love France," he exclaimed, "as I love my family, and Spain as my religion : my heart draws me to the one, and my conscience to the other."

Although this public profession of faith was hardly politic, and was calculated rather to alarm than to re-assure his few remaining partisans, it was nevertheless impossible to blame the King for vehemence which was justified by a situation more than ever terrible. All the government resources were exhausted ; the civil war was daily assuming a more alarming character ; and the guerilla bands, set on foot by the Cadiz Junta, spreading in all directions, were advancing to the very gates of the capital. A convoy could no longer leave Madrid without an escort of three hundred men. The behaviour of the generals towards the inhabitants, and the disgraceful and systematic plunder allowed by them, had aroused the utmost indignation, and driven them almost to despair. Everything and everybody was a matter of sale and bargain. At Valladolid there was a public table of rates, at which the prisoners

taken at Ciudad Rodrigo,* which had fallen into our hands long before, could obtain permission to remain in Spain. The sums paid for their ransom were paid to the account of General K——, the governor of Upper Castile. I was made acquainted with the above facts, and with several others of a like nature, by a letter from Marshal Massena, who at that time was staying at Ciudad Rodrigo, in command of the army he was about to lead into Portugal. On the 4th of August, 1810, he wrote to the King that “robbery and plunder were carried to the greatest excess; that he lamented having neither the means nor even the hope of putting a stop to this condition of things, and that he wished sincerely to leave that unhappy country, and to renounce a command which forced him to witness revolting breaches of order which he found himself powerless to prevent.”

At the moment when this letter reached the King—distressing him the more because he was unable to provide a remedy for the grievances it made known to him—he learned that this same governor of High Castile had issued orders, in the name of the Emperor, to the various civil and judicial authorities under his government to cease further cor-

* The place had surrendered at discretion on the 28th of June, 1810. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and it was intended to send them to France.

respondence with the King's ministers. Every delusion was now removed, and the Emperor's designs on Spain were clearly revealed. Joseph was now reduced to the rank of Commandant of the smallest French force in Spain. He had been gradually stripped of all authority, and he would no longer have hesitated to return to France, only that before taking that supreme resolve, he was anxious to know the result of the mission he had confided to the Marquis d'Almenara, who had, at that period, just reached Paris.

He had not long to wait. Towards the middle of September M. d'Almenara wrote to the King that a negotiation had been opened with the Duke de Cadore, on the subject of the Emperor's demand of the cession of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro, in exchange for Portugal, which should be united to Spain, so soon as the French troops had conquered it. But this promise was to be kept secret, so as not to increase the difficulty of conquering Portugal by announcing beforehand to that nation that they were destined to pass under the yoke of a power which they have always hated even more than France. In short, the Emperor was determined to have the Ebro provinces, and for the moment would give nothing in exchange, and at most bound himself but slightly for the future. All that was required was the legal recognition of

an invasion already accomplished by force. M. d'Almenara added that he would sign no treaty of surrender that did not contain a positive stipulation as to the proposed compensation. The Emperor had not replied to the King's letter to him, of which I have already spoken; but he was hurrying the negotiation, and promised to insert in the act of treaty all the clauses necessary to secure the dignity of the King, and to confirm his authority.

As, however, Joseph had steadfastly refused any surrender of Spanish territory, and as he repeated his formal instructions to M. d'Almenara on this point, the negotiation came to nothing. The Emperor's ministers evaded any reply to the complaints M. d'Almenara had been instructed to make concerning the conduct of the French Generals, or replied only by recrimination. Time was frittered away; disorder and violence continued to prevail, and the Emperor seemed to have adjourned his final decision until the expedition to Portugal should have been brought to an end. This, as I have said, was being carried out by Marshal Massena.

As the English, who, at that time, were exclusively occupied in repelling the threatened invasion of Portugal, had withdrawn altogether from Spain, with the exception of the Isle of Leon, and as the Cortes convened at Cadiz were assembling there, and setting up a new government under the name of a

regency,* there was during the latter months of 1810 a sort of suspension of military operations in the Castiles, Estramadura and La Mancha; and in the environs of the capital we were disturbed only by occasional raids on the part of the guerillas, whom we pursued and sometimes captured with our flying columns.

The King was desirous of profiting by these moments of breathing time. He consequently adjourned all deliberation on the state of affairs until the return of one of his two envoys to Paris, now shortly expected, and resolved on making an excursion to Guadalaxara, where some cloth manufactories belonging to the Crown excited his interest. I accompanied him on this journey.

We left Madrid on the 18th of September, and halted at Alcala da Henarez. This town, which is the ancient *Complutum* of the Romans, is built on a vast plain, at a short distance from the river Henarez, which two leagues further on flows into the Jarama. The town owes its celebrity to Cardinal Ximenes. He founded at Alcala da Henarez a magnificent college, which still existed in 1810, an university and numerous chairs of learning. He also built a palace for the Archbishops of Toledo. The university of Alcala

* The Cortes met on the 26th of September, 1810. They reserved for themselves the title of Majesty, only conferring that of Highness on the regency.

flourished for a long period. Fine printing-houses were also established in the town by the Cardinal, and the first Polyglot Bible was produced by them, between 1514 and 1517. It was anterior by fifty years to the Antwerp Polyglot, known as the *Biblia Regia*. But at the time of our visit to Alcala, there remained but few traces of its ancient splendour. The University was all but closed, and the population, which was formerly from 15,000 to 20,000 souls, was reduced to 5,000 or 6,000. I accompanied the King on his visits to the still-existing monuments.

The principal church, dedicated to St. Justus and St. Pastor, is an ancient edifice of the fifteenth century. There is nothing remarkable in its architecture, but it contains objects held in great veneration by the inhabitants of Alcala; among others a remonstrance in which are enshrined twenty-two consecrated wafers, which three or four centuries ago were thrown to the winds by the Moors. They were afterwards recovered, and have remained incorrupt ever since. This remonstrance, a standing miracle, is only shown on occasions of extraordinary solemnity, or in the presence of kings. The relics of two child-martyrs, preserved in an underground chapel, are removed from their shrine on the same occasions. To the King's presence therefore we were indebted for a sight of them. The principal part of the relics of the two saints consists in a well-preserved tibia

and foot, but which belonged evidently to a man of at least five feet six inches in height, and not to a child of ten, according to a legend of the youthful martyrs. These relics were devoutly kissed by those whom curiosity or piety had induced to accompany the King, and the ceremony lasted over an hour.

The College of San Ildefonso, to which we next went, is a very fine building, and contains the schools and the library. The schools were deserted, and the library much impoverished. A fine collection of coins had been removed, as well as a number of valuable books. A very few rare books were however exhibited to us; among others, a copy of the Bible I have already mentioned, printed on vellum and in perfect preservation, and some Greek and Latin MSS., at which I could only glance.

The college chapel contains the tomb of Cardinal Ximenes, who died in 1517. This monument, which is probably the work of Italian artists, is in Carrara marble; it is very handsome. In the treasury of the chapel there are also the Turkish standards taken at Oran in Africa, at the time of its conquest by Cardinal Ximenes, and the bronze roof of one of the minarets of the town. A painting of no great value, on the chapel wall, represents the conquest of Oran. In short, everything in the chapel is consecrated to the memory of Cardinal Ximenes. His arms and his portrait meet the eyes at every turn,

and the memory of that great man seemed to animate the ruins.

Guadalaxara, our next halting-place after leaving Alcala, is the ancient Arriaca of the Romans. The town is pleasantly situated in a plain, watered by the Henarez, and surrounded by hills. The plain is well cultivated, and produces corn, olives and vines. There is rich pasture-land on the heights. Guadalaxara was long inhabited by the Moors, from whom the name is derived (*ouada al jackara*, the stony river). In 1810, the number of its inhabitants was about 12,000, but it was much more populous in former times. We stayed there two days, while the King inspected the cloth factory, and took various measures for reviving it. We returned to Madrid on the 22nd of September.

In the capital we resumed our habitual mode of life. We were encompassed with the same difficulties, and were as unable as before to cope with them.

We were reduced to the most deplorable expedients of finance, and had no hope of a remedy. Constantly expecting some decisive news from Paris, or the return of the two envoys he had sent thither, the King had added a third, in the person of M. Marius Clary, the Queen's nephew, by whom he had sent a letter to his wife, begging her to declare to the Emperor, that he was resolved, unless some change were made in his position, to leave Spain and

take up his residence in France;* a further device for gaining time and for deferring the moment at which he must take a definite decision. October and part of November thus passed away.

Meanwhile Marshal Massena, at the head of 75,000 or 78,000 men, had entered Portugal and taken Almeida, which capitulated on the 26th of August; and after the reduction of that important stronghold, he had advanced into the interior of the country. But all communication with Spain was cut off in his rear, and for a considerable time we received no direct news of the expedition. Rumours of an alarming character were becoming prevalent in Madrid, when on the 20th of November the King received a letter from General Kellerman, containing particulars that, far from allaying our fears, were calculated to increase them. According to Kellerman, General Foy had left Marshal Massena at Villafranca, a few leagues from Lisbon, on the 2nd of November, and after running great risks on the road, had reached Valladolid, whence he was setting out for Paris with despatches from Massena to the Emperor. On the 28th of September there had been a sharp engagement at Busaco, near Coimbra, between the French and the

* M. Clary was directed also to obtain information respecting the purchase of a property, where the King wished to take up his residence in the event of his return to France, his Morfontaine estate being too near Paris.

combined English and Portuguese forces, in which many lives had been sacrificed. On our side we had Generals Graindorge, Merle, and Simon, 4000 men killed, and more than double that number wounded. After this sanguinary battle, in which we had gained the day, the English and their allies had tranquilly effected their retreat, and had entrenched themselves near Lisbon, in a position they had previously reconnoitred and fortified. The French army had followed, but had perceived the impracticability of an attack. The English were entrenched from the sea to the Tagus ; their left rested on Torres Vedras, their right on the river, in their rear was the sea, and the Tagus, covered with gun-boats, protecting their flank, rendered their position unassailable. All the audacity and impetuosity of the French, under a most daring and determined general, had failed before these obstacles, and Massena had not ventured to attempt a battle of which the issue must inevitably be fatal to us.

To the strength of their entrenchments, and that of natural position, the enemy added also the advantage of superior numbers. There were 25,000 English, 50,000 Portuguese, and the La Romana corps was expected to join them. Massena had but 30,000 or 35,000 men to oppose to these. His army had been thus reduced, by losses at the battle of Busaco, by 3000 men left to garrison Coimbra, who had been surprised and taken prisoners by a Portu-

guese column manœuvering in the rear of the French army, and lastly by illness among the troops, forced marches, and scarcity of provisions. To these almost insurmountable difficulties were added the equally serious ones arising from political circumstances. The country was entirely deserted from the Spanish frontier to Lisbon. The inhabitants of that great capital had all taken arms, and were so terribly in earnest, that the Marshal declared that, even in the event of complete success, he could not venture to enter the city at the head of the small force remaining to him.

In this critical situation, he applied to the Emperor for help; but at the same time he hoped to effect a retreat, by crossing the Tagus between Abrantes and Lisbon, in order to reach the left bank of the river and return by Estramadura.* According to this plan, he hoped to conclude the campaign by besieging Elvas and Badajoz, intending by this means to repair the misfortune of having failed in the principal aim of the expedition.

Such were the melancholy facts, and whatever

* The *Moniteur* of the 23rd of November, announcing General Foy's arrival in Paris, gives an account of the state of affairs in Portugal quite contrary to that which I have presented to the reader. It is a series of successes and victories, it is a diatribe against the English, instead of facts, which it was perhaps wise to conceal, while it was unworthy of true greatness to replace them with palpable falsehoods.

was our reasonable confidence in the abilities and character of Marshal Massena, however great were the resources of his military genius, it was evident that he himself despaired of success; and that a third reverse in Portugal must have the most fatal effect on our affairs in Spain, and on our own fate.*

Everything contributed therefore to render our position more than ever painful and harassing. Everything foreboded an inevitable crisis, and confirmed me in the opinion I had formed since the beginning of the Spanish affair, that this war was bringing the Emperor's prosperity to a close, and would prove to be the rock on which his glory and his fortune would be wrecked. Subsequent events have too surely justified my presentiment.

While the reports we had just received from Portugal were spreading through the city, and every day receiving malevolent exaggeration; while the public mind was being variously affected by them, the Duke of Santa Fé was on his way back from Paris. He reached Madrid on December 2nd, after an absolutely fruitless negotiation. Before his departure he had a long conversation with the Emperor, or rather, he listened for a long time while Napoleon spoke, but had himself been scarcely able to put in a word. The Emperor had made

* Massena was subsequently obliged to relinquish this design.

lengthy recriminations and complaints concerning his brother, nor had he spared the persons in the King's immediate circle. He had shown especial anger at the style of his letters, which contained, he said, nothing but abuse, and he compared his position with that of several other kings in Europe, who in circumstances far more adverse, made fewer complaints. Such was the result of the embassy on which so many hopes had been built. But just as it was being made known to us, a letter from the Duke d'Almenara, bearing date the 11th of November, was received by the King, and for a moment raised our spirits. M. d'Almenara wrote that the Emperor had specially sent for him; that he had in consequence proceeded to Fontainebleau, and had had a two hours' conversation with him; that he had thereupon received orders to start immediately for Spain, and that he expected to reach Madrid very shortly, bearing messages which—at least so he hoped—would be agreeable to the King.

M. d'Almenara arrived on the 9th of December in the evening,* and on the following day the King held a council, to which he admitted some of his Ministers, and did me the honour of summoning me also.

* It was then nearly a month since he had left Paris; but it must be remembered that at that time one could only travel in Spain with convoys, and that it took nearly twenty days to go from Bayonne to Madrid.

M. d'Almenara was the first to speak, in order to give an account of his mission, and particularly of his interview with the Emperor at Fontainebleau.

The whole period of his stay in Paris, until that interview, had been employed by him in making demands that were systematically rejected, and by the Emperor's Ministers in recriminations more or less well founded, which served as pretexts for declining any concession. No help in money, no alteration in the system of military government, no satisfaction as to our just cause of complaint concerning the conduct of the French generals, had been obtained. The only important communication received by M. d'Almenara had come from the Emperor himself, and was as follows. He left the King at liberty to make a proposition to the Cortes, recently assembled in the Isla da Leon, and prescribed in what spirit the proposition should be made. "The Cortes were to be invited to acknowledge Joseph as King, conformably with the Bayonne Constitution of 1808, which should be accepted by the Assembly, and Joseph, on his side, would recognise them as the true representatives of the nation. On this, Cadiz would open her gates, and the integrity of the Spanish territory would be maintained and guaranteed by France." In making this overture to M. d'Almenara, the Emperor had positively assured him it was official, and that he

was sending orders to his ambassador at Madrid to act in concert with the Spanish Government on the subject. He added, however, that in the event of non-success, he should consider himself as freed from all engagements to the Spanish nation, and that he should thenceforth act in the interests of his own policy only; that the King could, of course, if he thought proper, convene other Cortes for himself, in opposition to those of the Isla da Leon, and regulate with the new assembly the constitution of his states; but that, in such case, he must not summon deputies from the provinces beyond the Ebro to it, as the Emperor would not allow them to present themselves. He advised that the overture to the Cortes of the Isla da Leon should be made with due regard to events taking place in Portugal, so as not to choose a moment when it might be interpreted as a mark of weakness or alarm, should those events not turn out so favourably as he still hoped they might.

When M. d'Almenara had ceased speaking, the King told us that he wished for our opinion on the following points: the desirability of the enterprise he was authorised to attempt; the manner in which he should make it known to the Council of State; his mode of action generally; and whether it should be made public, or kept secret.

Of all the expedients that might have been

suggested to the King to better his almost hopeless situation, I admit that I should never have thought of that one which the Emperor proposed to him, and I am still, at the present day, unable to conceive how such an idea can have entered his head. Did he for one moment imagine that the Cortes would entertain such a proposition, while they were masters of Cadiz, which he knew better than anyone we could never take? And was it not absurd to flatter the King with even an appearance of success? I could not conceal my surprise. I could only see in this a pretext to justify the union of the Spanish provinces of the Ebro with France, with an unspoken intention of afterwards abandoning Spain to conflicting parties, if the King should contrive to assemble a rival Cortes to that of the Isla da Leon; and consequently to add the horrors of civil war to all the evils that actual war had brought and was still bringing on that unhappy country.

I perceived, however, that, although the same reflections were occurring to everyone present, they were more or less inclined to try the Emperor's suggestion, so as to be free from any self-reproach, and to lessen the King's responsibility towards the nation, should he be eventually compelled to consent to dismemberment. But I pointed out that it was impossible to come to a decision or even to deliberate on the question, in the absence of positive knowledge as to the

part France would take in the business, what authenticity she would give to her consent, and what guarantees she would offer for an arrangement, the execution of which, supposing it to be concluded, would be entirely in her own hands. On this, M. d'Urquijo, who had been informed beforehand by M. d'Almenara of the subject of the debate, and who had already seen the French Ambassador, informed us that in the course of a confidential conversation that morning with M. Lafôret, the latter had stated that "it was true he had received authorisation from Paris to concert by word of mouth with the Spanish ministry, but that at the same time he had formal orders to *write nothing*,"—in other words, he was authorised to advise a step on the part of the King which would completely ruin him with the Spaniards, while France reserved to herself the option of disavowing that step, whatever might be its issue. After listening to this explanation, it was an easy task to show that M. Lafôret's statement so completely altered the state of things that it was impossible to discuss it any further. It was unanimously resolved therefore that nothing could be done for the moment, and that we must wait for an official explanation from the ambassador before reconsidering the question.

I hoped that the matter would end here, and that the sitting, which had been prolonged far into the

night, would now be adjourned. But the King, whose countenance during M. d'Urquijo's speech had betrayed excessive anger, was now so painfully affected by this new proof of ill-will and want of faith, that he could no longer restrain his feelings. He burst out into violent reproach and bitter complaint, so vehemently expressed that, although accustomed to see him give way to violence in private, I was deeply grieved on his own account, for however just was his anger on this occasion, he was surrounded by persons who were not all equally discreet, and I trembled lest the dangers of his position should be increased. Even if those present did not reveal what they had witnessed, it might lower the King in their estimation to see him so little able to control himself at a crisis when he needed all his courage and strength of mind.

At last the council broke up, and I withdrew, profoundly dejected.

On the following day, the French ambassador, the dullest, most verbose of diplomatists, met the King's ministers, and had, in particular, a long interview with M. O'Farill. He entrenched himself behind the commands he had received not to *write* anything relative to the proposed negotiations with the Cortes. The King sent me to him also, but I could arrive at nothing farther, through all his unintelligible loquacity. Thus the project was given up, to be resumed

later, as will be seen, under circumstances still less favourable, if possible, than those then existing. As I had none of the illusions cherished by the others, I did not hesitate to repeat to the King the arguments I had so often used before to induce him to give up the struggle, or at any rate to go at once to Paris and treat directly with his brother. But as we had already waited for the return of two negotiators, the King wished, before taking any decision, to hear the news that was to be brought by the third, M. Clary, who as yet had scarcely had time to reach his destination; and so we continued to temporise.

The King determined, however, on taking the government of Madrid from General Belliard, to whom it had been entrusted by the Emperor after the conquest in 1808, and to replace him by a general of his own service. His choice fell on General Lafon de Blaniac, and he imagined that this political step would be gratifying to the people of Madrid, who disliked their governor to wear any cockade but the Spanish one; the King himself had less cause to complain of General Belliard than of any other French general. Moreover, this step, which gave him no real independence, did not meet with general approval, even among Spaniards, and exercised no influence upon the tranquillity of the town or the progress of affairs.

I must devote a few words to the guerilleros, who

played an important part in the Peninsular war of independence, and who, by making all regular government impossible, largely contributed to the deliverance of their country from a foreign yoke.

The reverses sustained by the Spaniards in 1809 had at last convinced them that their endeavours to put regular armies in the field were injurious rather than advantageous to their cause. Each time that their troops had encountered the French they had displayed such ignorance of war and such weakness on the field of battle, that every engagement since Baylen had been a defeat. The lesson taught by experience was not lost, and the Spaniards, of themselves, and as it were instinctively, adopted another system more in conformity with their habits and feelings. The warfare between the French and the Spaniards assumed more of a personal character, in which a great number of the inhabitants took part, either as individuals or joining the standard of some chieftain.

I have already pointed out the origin of the system, in speaking of the decree of the Junta, which in the first half of 1806 had ordered land raids against the French. The people, especially in the country parts, whose enmity was served by an institution which gave opportunities of gratifying it, obeyed the summons with eagerness. An invisible army spread itself over nearly the whole of Spain, like a net, from whose

meshes there was no escape for the French soldier who for a moment left his column or his garrison. Without uniform, and apparently without weapons, the guerilleros escaped easily from the columns that pursued them, and it frequently happened that the troops sent out to do battle with them, passed through their midst without perceiving them. Men at work in the fields would seize on the gun hidden in the earth, on catching sight of a solitary Frenchman, while to the detachment crossing the field in which they laboured they were but peaceful peasants. Hidden in ambuscade along the roads and passes by which the French couriers or convoys must travel, the guerillero band counted the escort, and seldom attacked unless secure of victory. This kind of warfare, easier than any other, attracted to the bands the scattered soldiers of the regular army, who, free from the yoke of military discipline, and within reach of their homes, of which they rarely lost sight, secured to themselves both a certain booty and the joy of revenge, without risk and almost without trouble.

In the course of the year 1810, the system of guerillero warfare became extraordinarily developed, and thenceforth each province possessed its own special band. The most distinguished chiefs were; Longa, in Galicia and the Asturias; Don Francisco Espoz y Mina in old Castile and Biscaya, one of the boldest, and the most harmful to us; Santochilder, in

the kingdom of Leon ; the Baron d'Eroles in Aragon and Catalonia ; Don Juan Martin, surnamed El Empecinado, in New Castile and the neighbourhood of Madrid. Other less numerous bands were also formed, and alternately appeared and vanished according to circumstances. Their chiefs, who were taken from all classes of society, were known rather by the name of their former employment than by that of their family ; thus there was the band of the Párocco (the parish priest), that of the Médico (the doctor), the Capuchíno (the capuchin monk), of the Pastor (the shepherd), of the Cocinéro (the cook), and many others.

In proportion as the guerillero system prevailed, the profession became a lucrative one for its members. Travellers and country folk carrying their commodities for sale in the parts occupied by the French, were forced to pay toll to the bands for permission to pass, and at last the guerillero chiefs had their own customs even on the French frontiers, and collected the duties as regulated by a tariff, to which all had to submit. Very frequently this mode seemed safest to French merchants, who preferred it to the slow process of numerous escorted convoys.

It must be remarked, however, that in the South of Spain, the guerilla bands never acquired the same importance as in the two Castiles and in the North. In Andalusia, and also in the kingdom of Valencia after its subjugation, order and tranquillity, with

few exceptions, prevailed, so long as the French occupied those provinces. This comparative security was due in part to the habits of the people, and to their less gloomy and fanatical character, and in part to the development of agricultural and industrial pursuits, but especially to the more intelligent system of administration adopted by the French Commanders, and to the discipline which they enforced on their troops.

CHAPTER XV.

Critical position of the French Army in Portugal—Successes of Suchet's army in Catalonia—The town of Valencia makes some advances towards treating with the King—Message from Queen Julia giving the King an account of an official interview with the Duke of Cadore—Documents in charge of a French courier are seized by the Spaniards and published in their newspapers—Sensation produced in Spain—The King seems disposed to follow the course of action advised by the author, but soon falls back into a state of irresolution—Reduction of Badajoz—Utter failure of the expedition to Portugal, and retreat of Massena—Marshal Victor meets with a reverse—Misunderstanding between the chiefs of the French Army—Disturbances in Madrid on account of the high price of bread—Altercation at the Ministerial Council—The King, having resolved on leaving Spain, fixes his departure for the 1st of April, 1811—The news of the birth of the King of Rome, which reaches Madrid on the 29th of March, delays the execution of this plan—The King at last takes his departure for France on the 23rd of April—Reflections on Joseph's political position—Interview between the two brothers—The Emperor promises the King certain concessions—Napoleon sets out for Cherbourg, and the King for Morfontaine—Impression produced on the author by the appearance of Paris—The Emperor's reply to a deputation of French merchants—Napoleon's unsatisfactory reply to his brother's complaints—Baptism of the King of Rome—The Emperor's ungracious reception of the author—After a final interview with his

brother on the 12th of June, Joseph leaves for Spain on the 16th; the author decides on accompanying him—The King reaches Spain on the 27th of June, and Madrid on the 15th of July.

THUS ended the year 1810, that had commenced so brilliantly with the conquest of Andalusia, of which there now remained to us little more than the recollection, all its advantages having either vanished away or passed into other hands; and the new year was beginning as inauspiciously. The position of our army in Portugal became day by day more critical. At the end of December, General Kellerman had forwarded to the King a copy of a letter written from Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 6th of the same month, by General Drouet, Count d'Erlou. He stated that the corps under his command,* having left Almeida towards the middle of November, had advanced into Portugal by way of Belmonte and Castelfranco, and had thrown out skirmishers as far as Os Cardenos; that having there learned that the bridge thrown across the Zezere at Punheta by Massena had been destroyed, and, having been unable to obtain any information respecting the position of the French army, he had decided on retracing his steps. He had therefore brought his troops back to Spain, tired and worn out by a twenty days' march across difficult country, without

* This corps formed part of the army of the south under Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia.

having fought or even seen the enemy. All hope of reinforcing the French army in Portugal was at an end. We received no direct news of it either, and the rumours circulated by our enemies became more and more alarming, in spite of the efforts of the *Moniteur*,* which, while it published some extracts from the official reports in the English newspapers, endeavoured to deceive the public as to the true state of affairs, and to ignore the existing danger.

The fall of the town of Tortosa, which surrendered to General Suchet, on the 2nd of January, 1811, was a pleasant contrast to the anxiety in which we were kept by the depressing accounts of the expedition to Portugal. This victory, which was the immediate prelude to the fall of Tarragona, Murviedro, eventually to that of the city of Valencia, and the possession of one of the wealthiest provinces of Spain, decided the King on despatching his aide-de-camp, M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, to Paris. This gentleman, together with others of his colleagues, had just received his share of the State Bonds recently created for the liquidation of the debts of the Public Treasury,† and the King might justly reckon on his fidelity. In a letter to the Emperor, of which M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was the bearer,

* See the *Moniteur* of the 4th of December, 1810.

† These bonds, known as *libramientos*, were received in payment for the national domains, consisting principally of the property of the clergy or of the *communes* that had been offered

the King requested instructions for his conduct towards the newly-conquered province. The Archbishop of Valencia, and the principal inhabitants of the city, had already made some advances towards the King, and shown a desire to treat directly with him, so as to prevent a siege being laid to so flourishing a city. Was it possible for the King to respond to their advances? Might he proceed to Valencia, as was suggested, receive the submission of the city, and establish his Royal residence there for a time? To these questions M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was to endeavour to obtain replies. He eagerly accepted the commission; but either he met with difficulties he could not overcome, or he had merely seized this opportunity of leaving Spain, for he ceased all correspondence with us after a few meaningless letters. Very shortly afterwards he

for sale. They were used also to pay arrears of salary, and to pay various creditors of the State. The King, having received a considerable number on account of his civil list, distributed the greater part among the persons in his service, ministers, councillors of state, officers of his household, and French generals, whom he had no other means of rewarding, nor even of paying. These *libramientos* were sold on the spot at a depreciation of 50 or 60 per cent. I received some of them, but as I considered myself bound to expend the sum in the purchase of national estates, which were confiscated on the return of King Ferdinand, this passing fortune soon disappeared. Those who sold the bonds, even at a loss, were more lucky; something at least remained in their hands.

left the King's service, and solicited—unsuccessfully, I believe—a post in the Dutch Guard, which, since the union of Holland to France, formed part of the Imperial Guard. Thus our affairs were no more advanced by our fourth negotiator than by the other three. He alone, however, had the cleverness to perceive our decadence, and to abandon the cause he had embraced, in sufficiently good time to obtain pardon, it was said, for the zeal with which he had served it during its prosperity.

Meanwhile, shortly after M. de Clermont-Tonnerre's departure, the King, who had long been without any news from Paris, received some of an important nature, which was to have a great influence on his destiny, and which, in my opinion, should have put an end to all his uncertainty, and definitely decided him.

The Queen sent a courier, whom she had detained eight months in Paris, waiting for a sufficiently important occasion for his services, with a letter, which the King received on the 5th of February. It contained the following particulars. The Queen had several times vainly attempted to speak to the Emperor concerning the King's position. She could obtain no reply, save a few impatient words. A suggestion made by her with regard to Naples, whither the King had expressed a wish to return, met with the same fate. The Emperor altogether

objected to the idea. "I am pleased with Murat," he told the Queen, "he is more popular at Naples than my brother was." But at length, after all these useless endeavours, on the 15th of January, she had received a note from the Duke of Cadore, asking for an audience. In the course of a long conversation with him, the Minister stated that he was commissioned by the Emperor to tell the Queen that his Imperial Majesty had learned, with much regret, that the King had sent his nephew to France to negotiate the purchase of an estate to which the King seemed to wish to retire. He did not recollect, apparently, that members of the Imperial family could acquire no property in France without the formal consent of the Emperor, and moreover that it was not lawful for him, either as King of Spain or as commander of the army of the centre, to quit his post without having obtained permission to do so from His Imperial Majesty. Lastly, he was sorry to have to say that, had the King taken so hazardous a step, he would have been arrested at Bayonne. The Emperor expected the King to throw himself completely into his political system; he required blind obedience, and was resolved on sacrificing every other consideration and every sentiment of affection to the interests of his policy. The constitution of Bayonne was no longer in question, and his Imperial Majesty could dispose of Spain at his pleasure and

interests, with exclusive regard to the Empire. If these conditions seemed unendurable to the King, if he was really determined to give up the throne, the Emperor saw no objection to his taking up his residence at Morfontaine; only everything must be done in order and according to rule. In that case, the King must declare his purpose to the French Ambassador at Madrid, and arrange with him so as to avoid any interruption to the safety and tranquillity of the country, and above all to avoid exposure of any kind.

Such were the contents of the Queen's letter, which I look upon as an official document, and on that account I have not scrupled to refer to it here, without any fear that by so doing I am committing a breach of confidence. The letter is corroborated by a article in the *Moniteur* of the preceding 18th of January, which was brought us by the same courier, and which throws additional light on the Emperor's intentions. The following significant lines appear under date of Aragon:—"General Suchet announces that public opinion is altering daily, that English influence is dying out, that the ferment is over, and that the inhabitants of this province as well as of the districts of the centre and of the South and North, are loudly clamouring for union with the Empire." It is right to add that the *Moniteur* of the following day, the 19th of January,

contradicted part of the above extraordinary paragraph, and explained that the demand for union with the Empire must only be understood of the people of Aragon ; but the blow had been struck all the same. These hints had caused alarm in Madrid, and a Spanish newspaper printed at Badajoz under the name of *Memorial militar y político del ejército de la izquierda*,* published, on the 25th and 28th of December, 1810, and on the 14th of January, 1811, copies of some papers that had been seized on a French courier and taken to the Marquis de la Romana, Commander of the Army of the Left. These pages consisted of a letter from M. de Asanza, Duke of Santa Fé, written from Paris, on the 10th of October, 1810, to M. d'Urquijo, in which he plainly unfolded the Emperor's intentions with regard to Spain just as they had been explained to him by M. de Talleyrand in a conference he had with that Minister by order of the Emperor. Several other documents accompanied this letter, which were also intercepted. Among them was a note from the Duke of Cadore to the Duke of Santa Fé, dated the 1st of October, 1810, positively demanding the King's abdication. To this was added a rough sketch of the communication the King was to make to his Council of State, in informing them of his intention to abdicate, and even the reply of the Council in acknowledgment of the supposed message from the

* Political and Military Memorial of the Army of the Left.

King. The style of these documents and the curious way in which they were drawn up, seemed to prove that if they were not pure inventions, at any rate the originals had been coarsely altered. The Duke of Santa-Fé admitted at Madrid that the confidential letter attributed to him was authentic. But so many circumstances coincided with our official knowledge, that these papers, which had evidently been fabricated in Paris, and which the King's enemies took great pains to circulate in Spain, necessarily produced a great sensation, and as it was impossible to distinguish the false from the true, the public mind was much disturbed. The whole population in fact seemed in a state of expectancy, waiting for the impending changes, and preparing for them either with pleasure or with resignation, according to their various interests, hopes and fears. Madrid was already spoken of as likely to be made the fourth or fifth city of the Great Empire, and the French ambassador held out dazzling hopes to the Spaniards of the posts of senators, councillors of state, and prefects, to which the Emperor would surely appoint the most distinguished men in Europe, as he had already appointed several to those in Holland and Lower Germany, lately annexed to France.

What was the King to do in such a situation as this? Surely he ought without hesitation to take advantage of the opening afforded by the Queen's

letter, hand over to the Emperor's ambassador a nobly expressed and perfectly explicit declaration, renouncing for ever a crown that he could no longer wear with dignity on such conditions, and laying aside the vain title of King, seek an honourable retirement in France.

The opportunity was too favourable for me not to seize it, and renewing my former entreaties, I pressed the King to act according to the advice I had already so frequently tendered him. I spoke with all the zeal of conviction and friendship, and from the vantage point afforded me by circumstances so strongly in favour of my views.

The King seemed at first inclined to yield. He sent for M. Laforet, and had a long conference with him, but without the decisive result that I ardently desired. The ambassador hinted that in reality the Emperor wished his brother to remain in Spain, and that he in his capacity of ambassador was of the same opinion, that he thought the King should place himself completely in the Emperor's hands, and should submit to him without reserve; that he would find his advantage in so doing, and that His Imperial Majesty, satisfied by such a course, would then relax the strict conditions he had imposed. After this first conference, which led to nothing, the King drew up the note that he proposed to hand to the ambassador, and showed it to me. It was well

done on the whole, but I considered that it did not indicate with sufficient clearness that retirement was the course he preferred to all others. I should have wished him to have spoken more plainly, and I ventured to tell him so, but in vain. Evidently the name of King was a spell from which Joseph had not as yet escaped, and I could not wonder at the fascination exercised by the possession of supreme power, when even its shadow can turn the scale against such numberless vexations and grievances.

The ambassador was, however, dissatisfied with the wording of the note, and proposed various alterations. These all tended to obtain from the King a more explicit statement that he would conform in everything to the Emperor's requirements. The King on his side refused to agree to some of the alterations; but at length, after several days' hesitation and many conferences, the revised note was handed to the ambassador, and as it contained in substance the King's submission to the decision of the Emperor, it became necessary to await that decision, which never arrived, as might easily have been foreseen.

The early part of 1811 was thus passed in fruitless parley. Military operations meanwhile, in which the Army of the Centre took no part, although our fate was hanging in the balance, were being carried on about us with varying results, but they were in general unfavourable. A corps, detached from the

Army of the South, and commanded by Marshal Soult in person, was besieging Badajoz; and after a brilliant skirmish outside the walls,* in which the Spaniards lost from 7000 to 8000 men, straitened the siege of the place, and, as it had given up all hope of succour, it capitulated. But this important conquest, which should have preceded our operations in Portugal, so as to have given the besieging corps the opportunity of advancing into Portuguese Estramadura, after the surrender of the town, and of assisting Marshal Massena, was of no use to the expedition. A letter to the King from Marshal Bessières,† informed us, towards the end of March, that Massena, unaware that Badajoz had fallen,‡ and without means of subsistence for his army, was retreating upon Coimbra.§ The expedition had altogether failed, and the English remained in possession of Portugal. But, while Marshal Soult was besieging Badajoz, a large corps of English and Spaniards marched out of Cadiz in the beginning of March, and attacked Marshal Victor at Chiclana.

* Battle of the Gebora, the 19th of February, 1811.

† He had recently assumed the command of the army of the north of Spain.

‡ The town surrendered on the 10th of March, and the army of Portugal began its retreat on the night of the 5th.

§ He did not remain there, but continuing his march, in spite of immense difficulties, he brought his army back to Spain, reduced to 30,000 men, having lost nearly all his artillery and cavalry.

After a sanguinary conflict, lasting over four hours, the French gave way, and retired within their lines, with considerable loss of men and officers. Among the latter was General Ruffin. The enemy's strength was calculated at 20,000 men, against whom Marshal Victor could only bring about 8000. The Duke of Dalmatia was therefore obliged to leave Estramadura in all haste, to go to the help of Marshal Victor, leaving a strong garrison behind him at Badajoz, and a small corps under Marshal Mortier, to watch both the conquered town and the Portuguese frontier, which the English might be expected to cross at any moment. Such were the particulars brought to the King by Colonel Desprez on his return from Badajoz.

To our misfortunes in war were added the evils of disunion among our generals, caused by reverses to which we were, as yet, unaccustomed. Massena's intentions, and his plan of campaign, had been continually opposed by the dashing courage and impetuous temper of Ney. Their misunderstandings ended in a complete separation, and the Duke of Elchingen reached Spain before the army, and had already arrived at Salamanca while Marshal Massena was still in Portugal. General Junot also, whom the Emperor had insisted on sending back, had greatly diminished the chances of success. His name was hateful to the Portuguese by reason of his excesses

during the first campaign, and had contributed in no small degree to alienate the inhabitants, and to increase the number of our enemies in the interior of the country.

On the other hand, the high price of corn, a prelude to the famine which prevailed a few months later, had caused great disturbance in Madrid, and as the increase in the price of bread had been posted up on the King's fête-day (the 19th of March), the coincidence gave rise to several insulting remarks, which the ill-disposed hastened to circulate. The state of the city seemed sufficiently alarming to call for an extraordinary sitting of the council, to which I was summoned. The meeting was stormy! A sharp altercation took place between the Minister of Police and the Minister of the Interior; each tried to cast the blame attributable to circumstances on each other, both, in fact, being equally guiltless: cleverer men than they must have failed to do better. The King also lost his temper, and at one moment was on the point of dismissing council and ministers in high displeasure. Happily the tumult calmed down. The price of bread was placed on the old footing; the Madrid bakers were indemnified for the loss they must incur, and tranquillity was restored to the capital; but the scene I had witnessed at the council clearly showed the state of public feeling. Distrust, anger and resentment were breaking out in all

directions, even in the very heart of the administration, and these fatal symptoms announced the impending dissolution of a government whose ruin was being accelerated by a total want of pecuniary resources and by the stern inflexibility of the Emperor.

At the very time, in fact, when we were full of these anxieties, we received the *Moniteur* of the 26th of February, 1811, containing the notes inserted by the Emperor on the speech of the King of England to his Parliament. The spirit in which these extraordinary notes were drawn up, left no room for doubt as to Napoleon's intentions regarding Spain, nor of the fate he was about to assign to a country which he looked upon as his own conquest, and was determined to treat as such. It was a public and precise reply to the note M. de Laforet had received from the King, and none other could now be expected.

The King, straightened on all sides, surrounded by fast-increasing difficulties, threatened with risings in Madrid to which the scarcity might at any moment lead, beset, outside the walls, by the guerilla bands that at times approached to the very gates, and having exhausted all his resources, at last resolved to leave Spain, and fixed his departure for the 1st of April. But he kept his design secret, lest, if it became known, the Emperor might oppose

its execution.* Preparations were being silently carried on, when a new incident arrested their progress.

A courier, despatched by the Prince de Neufchatel, reached Madrid on the evening of the 29th of March, bringing the news of the birth of the King of Rome. A few days later, on the 8th of April, General Defrance brought the formal intimation of this great event to the Court of Spain, and handed the King a letter from the Emperor. It was written in a kindly tone, and gave some particulars of the birth. For some minutes serious fears had been felt for the safety both of mother and child. The letter was rather that of one brother to another, than that of a Sovereign addressing another Sovereign, and it ended in these words :—" General Defrance, the bearer of this letter, will give you another, in which I beg you to be one of your nephew's godfathers." This return to brotherly affection gave the King great pleasure, and in some measure restored his confidence. Unfortunately, no material help accompanied these friendly missives, and our political situation remained unchanged.

I abstain from particulars of the fêtes given at Madrid, in honour of the birth of a child on whom

* The reader has already seen, in the Queen's letter, the statement of the Duke de Cadore, that the Emperor would have ordered his brother to be arrested at Bayonne, had he set out on his journey without Imperial permission.

the fate of so many persons depended, and whose existence seemed to crown the Emperor's good fortune. The people of Madrid took little interest in the fêtes; yet they were not indifferent to the event which occasioned them. Naturally superstitious, they thought it betokened a signal favour from heaven, a Providential decree, and resigned themselves to the yoke of a man who seemed to be specially protected by the Almighty.

The momentary satisfaction caused by the event soon passed away, and stern reality resumed its sway. General Defrance had scarcely set out on his return to Paris, when the King resolved on following him so closely that the Emperor should not hear of his proposed departure until too late to prevent it. On the 20th April he assembled his ministers, and announced his intention of proceeding immediately to Paris, for the purpose of a conference with the Emperor. He said, at the same time, that his absence would be of short duration, and that he hoped to return in two months at latest. Every one felt the step to be a necessary one, and no objection was offered. The King named the persons who should accompany him*, and his departure was fixed for April the 23rd.

In accompanying the King on this journey, I had

* O'Faril, Minister of War; Urquijo, Secretary of State; and Campo-Alanje, Minister of Exterior Relations, were among the number.

no expectation of ever returning to Madrid. Yet I could not form any precise idea of what we were going to do in Paris, or of what would become of us. I could not deceive myself as the others did, and believe that the Conference had been arranged beforehand between the brothers. Nothing, to my mind, was more uncertain than the kind of reception that awaited us in France : I was not even sure that we should be allowed to enter that country. We were approaching a melancholy *dénouement*, in my opinion ; but, as its causes were of old date, I will linger awhile to make a few reflections on them.

No doubt there had existed difficulties in Spanish affairs which no human foresight, no political skill, could have overcome ; but we must admit that a large proportion of the misfortunes encountered by the King, and those who had staked their fortunes on his, was due to a generally vicious system. The designs of the Emperor, and the invincible repugnance evinced towards them by the nation, rendered it impossible to be a Constitutional King in Spain, to preserve the territory of ancient monarchy in its integrity, and, in a word, to reign with at least administrative independence, since political independence was out of the question. Force only could maintain us in our position, and that force was in the hands of the Emperor ; therefore, after the conquest of Madrid, in December, 1808, we should

either have abstained from entering the capital, or have been satisfied to be the mere instrument of a military power. Joseph had followed neither course. He still wanted to believe himself a King, and to exercise kingly functions in their full extent, to create a national government and a national ministry, and to set up a strong line of demarcation between the French and the Spaniards. But he had not calculated that since, by these means, he had not obtained the approval of the Spanish nation, he had nothing with which to oppose the Emperor, who could not tolerate such a course of conduct; that he would exhaust himself in vain efforts to acquire popularity, and that, instead of having a support in the Emperor against the enmity of the nation, he would, on the contrary, find him opposed to every one of the pretensions, for whose success not a single Spaniard, with the exception of a few interested persons, seriously cared. This in fact is exactly what took place. Civil authority and military authority, administration and finance, were successively encroached on by the Emperor's generals and agents. Standing alone in the midst of his States, bearing a title that was only an oppressive burden, the King had, in reality, ceased to exist as a monarch, and barely retained some semblance of authority over a small part of the French army as a general. Reduced by the exhausted state of his

treasury to the last extremity, he had at length seriously thought of departure, and we were on the point of quitting Spain. But, although he must long have foreseen the necessity for taking this resolution, he was leaving the country without making any conditions, and without any guarantee for the future. He had declined to pledge himself so distinctly as the Emperor required, in hopes of contriving a possibility of remaining, and this middle course had served as a pretext for giving him no reply whatever.

We were going to Paris, therefore, trusting to chance for success, and altogether ignorant of what kind of reception would be given us. For my own part I set out on the journey wishing from my heart that our reception might be such as to dispel entirely all that love of grandeur which still cast a spell over the King, and such as to make him resolve to seek in retirement for happier days than those he had passed on two tottering thrones. I sincerely wished this for his glory and my own repose, but I was disappointed.

We left Madrid on the 23rd of April, 1811. In the Spanish towns through which we passed, the King received the homage of the authorities, and announced everywhere that he was going to Paris to confer with his brother, but that he would return to his dominions almost immediately. He protested

openly that he was entirely opposed to any dismemberment of the monarchy, and that in no case would he consent to treaties which might infringe in the slightest degree on Spanish territory. He made no stay, however, in any town, and hastened his journey as much as, being encumbered with a numerous escort only able to make short stages, he could do.

We crossed the French frontier on the 10th of May, and, merely passing through Bayonne, we passed the night at Dax. We had met a courier in the course of the day bringing a letter from the Prince of Neufchatel, in which, in the name of the Emperor, he advised the King not to leave Spain. But we had already crossed the frontier, and it was too late to turn back. The King continued his journey, and on the evening of the 15th of May we reached Paris and drove to the Luxembourg.

The brothers met at Rambouillet. It was arranged between them that the approaching baptism of the King of Rome should serve as a pretext for the King's journey, which was to be supposed to have been made with a view only to his being present at that ceremony. It was agreed, moreover, that Joseph should appear in the character of a French Prince and Grand Elector, wearing the white costume embroidered in gold reserved exclusively for those members of the Imperial family who were in the line of succession. Little was said on this occasion

concerning the real motive of his journey. Vague promises were made to the King on the subject, and he fared no better in several subsequent interviews. At last the Emperor, who was preparing to set out for Cherbourg, promised to issue orders from Caen, that the command-in-chief of the armies in Spain should be restored to the King, and that he should receive a monthly subsidy for the purpose of carrying on his government, and for the partial support of his troops.* The Emperor also left the King free to return to Spain, if he were satisfied with these conditions, or to remain in France, if they did not suit him. On the day after this interview, which took place at Rambouillet, the Emperor set out, and we waited the fulfilment of his promises at Morfontaine.

I was again in Paris after six years' absence; but I was far from feeling unmixed joy in returning to my country. I was oppressed with gloomy forebodings. The past, the present, and the future weighed down my spirits. Owing to my individual position, I was a foreigner in the midst of my countrymen; in the service of a King of Spain and yet not a Spaniard, nor willing ever to become one, and nevertheless deprived of my former rights as a

* The King had a numerous guard, consisting of Spanish regiments and of French officers and soldiers, who, with the Emperor's consent, had passed into his service.

citizen. My position, and that of other Frenchmen in like case, was the more painful that the Emperor seemed anxious to make us feel it, in all its severity, by withholding from us not only our former honours at his court, where as Frenchmen we had held various posts, but also the honours attached to the posts which we filled in his brother's service. I could easily have consoled myself for the loss of such vain prerogatives, had not the Emperor's conduct towards us been the outcome of a system that threatened my means of subsistence, and wrested from me the fruits of my past services, without offering me the least compensation for the great sacrifice I had made.

I wandered through the streets of Paris, a prey to these gloomy reflections, unable to dismiss my anxieties, although fresh objects of interest continually appealed to my curiosity. How wonderfully Paris had improved since my departure for Naples in January 1806! Magnificent quays, open sites ornamented with the trophies of our conquests, fine bridges named after our victories, columns and statues had been constructed in the city; new fountains had sprung up in all directions, and although good taste had not always presided over the rapid construction of all these things, their usefulness fully justified their existence, while their splendour and their number astonished the spectator.

The Louvre, that had been left unfinished by a long line of Kings, was now nearly completed, a second gallery was rising from the ground to connect this ancient palace with the Tuileries. Spacious museums contained the chefs-d'œuvre of ancient and of modern Rome, of Italy and of Flanders. In every direction marble and bronze proclaimed that the man who had created so much in so short a space of time, was one who knew how to glorify the nation by the arts of peace as well as by those of war.

That extraordinary man seemed now to have attained the utmost height of human greatness. Fortune had just put the finishing stroke to her favours by bestowing on him a son. A number of ambassadors, of princes, even of Sovereigns, mingled with his courtiers, crowded the Emperor's ante-chambers, and pressed around the cradle of his child. All that the language of admiration and flattery could invent had been exhausted in the speeches, discourses, poems, and episcopal pastorals that filled the long-suffering columns of the newspapers. Europe, in fact, with the exception of England and the Peninsula of Leon, was at the feet of Napoleon, and yet there were gathering clouds beginning even now to cast their shadow over all this splendour and imposing array. Serious differences were arising between Napoleon and Alexander and undermining the friendship formed between them at Tilsit and

Erfurth. Commerce, which had been ruined by the Berlin and Milan decrees on the continental blockade, was languishing everywhere. Complaints were made, and as they passed unheeded, the popular discontent found vent in murmurs and insulting placards. The Emperor's inflexibility defied the popular disfavour, and rejected every appeal; nevertheless he felt impelled to justify his conduct. He was forced to explain himself, and he even now began to attribute some of the grievances of trade to the conduct of the Emperor of Russia. Nothing is more remarkable from this double point of view than the reply made by him, during my sojourn in Paris, to a deputation of merchants to whom he had granted an audience. It was as follows:

“The decrees of Berlin and Milan are fundamental laws of my Empire. As to neutral navigation, I look upon a flag as an extension of territory; any power that allows it to be violated cannot be considered as neutral.

“The fate of American trade will soon be decided. I shall favour it, if the United States conform to my decrees; if not, their vessels shall be forbidden the ports of my Empire.

“Commercial relations with England must cease, I tell you plainly, gentlemen; merchants who have business to wind up, or capital to withdraw, should do so as soon as possible. I gave the same advice,

formerly to the citizens of Antwerp ; they found it to their advantage. I desire peace, but not a patched-up peace ; I want it to be real, and such as can afford me sufficient guarantees, for I forget neither Amiens nor St. Domingo, nor the losses inflicted on trade by the last declaration of war. I would not have made peace at Tilsit ; I would have gone to Wilna and farther still, only for the promise of the Emperor of Russia to procure a peace between France and England. Before the union with Holland, I made further overtures of peace ; the English Government would not even listen to them.

“The continent shall remain closed to imports from England. I shall remain armed in order to carry out my decrees and resist the attempts of the English in the Baltic. Some fraud exists still, but it shall be completely crushed. I know the discounters of English trade. Those who think only of evading the law by extravagant operations end in bankruptcy. But, if they succeed in escaping from my officers of customs, my sword will reach them sooner or later, in three, four, five, or six months’ time, and they will have no right to complain.

“I keep my ear open in mercantile circles ; I know that my measures are openly blamed, and that I am said to be ill-advised. I cannot be angry with such men for their opinions—they are not in a

position to see and to calculate, as I am. Those however who have recently arrived from England, and who have seen the impression beginning to be produced there by the interruption to trade with the continent, cannot refrain from saying: 'He may possibly be right; he may, after all, succeed in his designs.'*

"In my empire, internal trade amounts to more than four milliards. On this basis its resources and its prosperity must be combined. I know that Bordeaux and Hamburg and the other ports are suffering through the interruption to maritime trade. Some municipal regulations of the Emperor of Russia will be injurious to the Lyons manufactories. These are individual losses. I endeavour to alleviate them.

"But our exports to Russia, which did not exceed twenty-five millions, that is to say between one and two per cent. on the whole mass in circulation, cannot interfere with, or alter the general course of trade. Russia has paper-money, so has Austria. England is choked with it. France is the richest country in the world. Her territorial resources are immense. She has plenty of money: according to

* The effect of the Berlin and Milan decrees would have been still more disastrous for England, if the Emperor himself had not modified them by granting licenses; a scandalous trade was carried on in these to the benefit of certain courtiers, and it was asserted in Paris at the time, that even the Emperor's private treasury was enriched by it.

calculations that have been made, more than a milliard has been paid into France by war-contributions. I have 200 millions in my private treasury at the Tuileries ; I receive taxes amounting to 900 millions in cash, of which only a very small portion are the proceeds of foreign trade.

“I am informed that in consequence of some recent experiments France will be able to do without sugar and indigo from the Indies. I shall encourage both those industries. Chemistry has, in these days, made such progress, that it is possible it may effect a revolution in commercial relations as extraordinary as that caused by the discovery of the compass. I do not say that I do not wish for either maritime trade or colonies ; but they must be given up for the time being ; either until England changes her policy for one more reasonable and just, or until I can dictate terms of peace to her. If I were the heir of the throne of Louis XV. or Louis XVI., I should be forced to solicit peace from the English on my knees ; but I succeeded to the Emperors of France. I have added the mouths of the largest rivers of Europe and the Adriatic to my empire ; there is nothing to prevent me from building and arming a fleet of two hundred vessels. I know that the English will have better admirals, and that is a great advantage. But by dint of fighting we shall learn how to conquer. We shall lose the first,

second and third battle, and we shall win the fourth, for the simple reason that the stronger must subdue the weaker. I had not thought that the glut of English goods, which is announced on the South American markets, would have happened so soon, but I had reckoned rightly on the absence of returns. When once the markets for colonial produce are closed, the English may throw the sugar, and the indigo, for which they exchange their industrial produce, into the Thames. Here, as in England, manufacturers have been imprudent and foolish; they have not known how to combine demand and supply. The English Government has been obliged to give substantial help; I have done the same in some cases, and I could have done much more, but I thought it neither expedient nor right to encourage such evil and dangerous principles. To manufacture is not enough; it is necessary to know where and how to sell, and not to make ten yards of stuff when there is only sale for four. It was not difficult to foresee that after twenty years of war and trouble the consumption of the continent must greatly diminish, and that many persons who used to have four new coats in a year would have to restrict themselves to two, or one.

“Trade is an honourable pursuit, if conducted with prudence and economy. You must be wise, gentlemen. A merchant must not gain his fortune

as one gains a battle ; he must make small and continual profits."

A few days after the audience in which the Emperor delivered the above allocution, he left Paris for Cherbourg. Meanwhile the King remained at Morfontaine, where, with the exception of occasional visits to Paris, he resided permanently. I had accompanied him thither, and we were waiting for orders from the Emperor, which he had promised to send from Caen. Joseph hoped to receive them in time to leave Paris before the baptism of the King of Rome, which had been fixed for the 9th of June. He had so completely forgotten his origin and had so thoroughly identified himself with his rôle as a sovereign, that to appear publicly in attendance on his brother, and as his vassal, so to speak, seemed to him a humiliation. But the Emperor, who, on his part, was by no means superior to the promptings of the meanest vanity, and who attached importance to being surrounded on this occasion by a family of Kings, purposely delayed his decision, so that even if Joseph should decide on returning to Spain, he could not without a breach of propriety, leave Paris before the 9th of June.

After ten days of suspense, the Prince de Neûchatel arrived at Morfontaine on the 2nd of June, bringing the reply to Joseph's demands. It was expressed in ambiguous terms, and far from answering the King's

expectations. It merely assigned to the King a subsidy of 500,000 francs (£20,000) per month,* and stated that orders would be given to the generals commanding the French troops in Spain to recognise the King as Commander-in-Chief. But no copy of these orders were forwarded with the letter, although it was a most important matter for us to know how they were expressed. They should have been so drawn up as to preclude all doubt of the Emperor's intentions, and to afford no pretext for misinterpreting or evading them. Nor was any change made in the system of administration that had prevailed for the last year in France, and the four great governments on the left bank of the Ebro, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, and Biscaya, continued to exist as before, exempt from the King's authority and under the exclusive rule of the Emperor. I was therefore of opinion—and the Spanish ministers to whom the King communicated the answer brought by the Prince of Neûchatel, agreed with me—that Joseph could not return to Spain with no more secure guarantee than this, and that at any rate he must await the return of the Emperor in order to have a further explanation with him. We therefore re-

* The subsidy was to consist of one million francs per month until January 1, 1812; but only 500,000 francs were at the King's disposal, the other 500,000 being intended for the pay of the French troops, belonging to the Army of the Centre.

signed ourselves to a fresh delay. The Emperor returned to St. Cloud on the 1st of June, and saw his brother on the 5th, but no positive decision was arrived at. The day appointed for the baptism of the King of Rome was at hand, and all business was deferred until after the approaching fêtes.

The ceremony took place on the 9th of June. In the morning there was an extraordinary Diplomatic Audience, a reception and a review. I was at the Tuileries with the other persons attached to the King's service, both Spaniards and Frenchmen. The Emperor received the former very graciously, and the others rudely. I had, for my part, every reason to regret that I had overcome my repugnance to presenting myself at the Tuileries; but I had been obliged to do as the others did, and they were no better treated than I. However, I consoled myself for our disgrace; for the reception afforded me an opportunity of observing the splendour, new to me, of the Emperor's court. Never in the old Versailles days had more pomp and magnificence been displayed than now at the Tuileries. Never had a greater number of princes, ambassadors, foreigners of high rank, princes of the Church, ministers, magistrates and generals, glittering in gold, scarlet, and precious stones, bedizened with orders and decorations of every colour of the rainbow, offered more obsequious homage or solicited more eagerly the

boon of a word or of a glance. In the midst of all these, the Emperor alone seemed at his ease, and unconstrained. He passed with a firm step through the crowd of courtiers who made way respectfully before him. By a single glance he filled those whom he approached with joy, or cast them into despair, and when he deigned to speak, the fortunate mortal whom he addressed, bent his head, strained his ear, and scarcely ventured to breathe or murmur a reply. Such was the aspect of the Tuileries in 1811. Two years later I stood again on the same spot. All was changed.

On leaving the Emperor's audience chamber, we were shown into that of the Empress. In the salon, while waiting for her to appear, I saw her uncle, the Grand Duke Ferdinand, at whose Court in Florence I had been Minister, thirteen years before. He did not, or pretended that he did not, recognise me, and I made no attempt to refresh his memory. But I smiled at the strange vicissitude of fortune, by which the former sovereign of Tuscany, and the former Ambassador at his Court, were brought together, each paying his court to a grand-daughter of Maria Theresa, now the wife of the former General of the French Republican army in Italy.

While I was reflecting on this curious coincidence, the Empress entered the room. It was the first time I had seen her. She was not beautiful, but she

struck me as being pleasing. Her expression was noble but rather disdainful. Accompanied by the Duchess of Montebello she made the circuit of the assembly, speaking with grace and kindness to several persons, whom she desired to have named to her. Everybody present was delighted. After this we received our dismissal and withdrew.

The baptism took place in the afternoon. I was not present. The King was not attended by any of the suite whom he had brought from Madrid. Count de Jaucourt acted as his First Chamberlain, and my friend Stanislas Girardin as First Equerry; all I saw therefore was the procession passing along the Boulevards, and I soon perceived that neither the presence of the Emperor, nor the pomp with which he was surrounded, made the same impression on the people as of yore. There were but few acclamations, and these proceeded principally from a perambulating group, evidently in the pay of the police, which followed the progress of the carriages. Many of the spectators did not lift their hats, and among the general public there was no enthusiasm.

As I have said, all who took an interest in Joseph, even his Spanish Ministers, were of opinion that the insignificant concessions he had obtained, which made no account of his principal grievances, and which perhaps were not even sincere, could not justify him in returning to Spain. The King, however, had

already made up his mind. A desire on the one hand, to escape from the restraints imposed on him in Paris, and on the other, the charm, which notwithstanding the most painful experience, still lingered, in the merest shadow of supreme power, and, more than all perhaps, a love affair at Madrid which attracted him to the capital,* had led him, in opposition to the counsels of his most devoted friends to decide on returning to the Peninsula. He had a final interview with the Emperor on the 12th of June. I never knew exactly what took place on that occasion. I was two days without seeing the King; I only heard that a month's pay of the subsidy was being paid in advance, and forwarded to Spain from the Imperial Treasury, and that Marshal Jourdan was to resume his post of Major-General to the King; an arrangement on which Joseph had specially insisted. Moreover, I was informed on the 14th, as were all the members of the King's suite, that he had fixed on the 16th for beginning his return journey to Spain.

During the whole of that day (the 14th) I hesi-

* The lady who so greatly attracted Joseph was the charming wife of one of his Majordomos, the Marquis de M . . . , who appeared to be much aggrieved by the *liaison*. The Marquise, who on the expulsion of the French from Spain, could not remain in the country, took refuge in France, as did a large number of her compatriots belonging to the *Afrancesados* party, where, on the death of her first husband, she married a French officer who had belonged to King Joseph's guard.

tated whether to accompany King Joseph or to remain permanently in France. It seemed to me, that having hitherto blamed his sojourn in Spain, he could not doubt that I should much more strongly disapprove of his resolution of returning thither, and I feared that this diversity of opinions might end by impairing our friendship; that he might come to look upon me rather as an importunate critic than as a devoted friend. On the other hand, my family was in Spain. I had left my wife, my children, my brother, and my son-in-law, nearly every one I loved, behind me. How could I recall them? What compensation could I offer them for the appointments, the places, and the ease that they enjoyed, owing to the kindness of the King? What could I do for them in Paris, alone, without fortune, and in disgrace with the Emperor? Lastly, and this consideration had most weight with me, how could I desert the prince to whom for six years, I had in a sense dedicated my life? And the stronger my conviction that he was laying himself open to further cares and sorrows, the more did I think myself bound by affection and by duty to share them. Doubt therefore yielded to Friendship, and I resolved to go.

On the 16th of June, very early in the morning, just as I was about to enter my carriage, the Queen sent for me to her apartments. She thanked me

cordially for having resolved not to forsake her husband. She repeated several times, that he would have been greatly grieved had I decided on remaining in Paris, but that out of delicacy he had left me free to choose, because he felt that he himself might never be in a position to reward this fresh mark of attachment. This conversation comforted me in no small degree and I set out in tolerably good spirits.

We reached Bayonne on the 23rd of June. The King remained there two days, and took up his abode at the Château de Marac, a short distance from the town. He seemed to hesitate about re-entering Spain. During our sojourn at Bayonne we saw the circular letter from the Prince de Neûchatel to the French Generals commanding in the Peninsula. It was far from fulfilling the promises made to us before we left Paris. The Emperor merely commanded that the King should receive the honour due to his rank during his progress, and there was no mention of the supreme command that had been promised him.

This beginning of disappointments should have shown the King how little he could rely on the strict execution of the remainder of the Emperor's promises. There was still time to draw back, and I ventured to advise him to do so. But the commotion this step would have caused, prevented him

from taking it, and we crossed the Bidassoa on the 27th of June.

We advanced slowly towards Madrid. We stayed two days at Vittoria, and then three at Burgos, where General Thiébault, governor of the province, gave some fêtes in honour to the King. There was a ball, fireworks, and every outward demonstration of the satisfaction and delight caused by the return of a legitimate and beloved sovereign.*

* Eighteen months before our visit to Burgos, the tomb of the Cid and Ximena had been removed thither. This tomb, which had been formerly in a chapel of St. Peter's Abbey, some few leagues from Burgos, was placed on the banks of the Arlançon, which runs through the town, below the Espolon quay, the public promenade of Burgos. The monument, when I saw it, in 1811, consisted of a base in the modern style, about five feet in height, supporting an ancient sarcophagus, on which recline the figures of the Cid and Ximena Dias, his wife. The four sides of the sarcophagus bear the arms of the Cid and those of his wife, trophies of arms, and other decorations which are well, though not delicately, carved. The frieze of the entablature bears an inscription of which one half is in Gothic lettering in relief, considerably broken, in which I picked out a date M.D.XXXVII. I am not certain, however, that I may not have been mistaken, for the style of sculpture appeared to me to belong to an earlier period. The rest of the frieze contains the following words painted in black: "Doña Ximena Diaz, Muger del Cid, nieta del rey D. Alonze el v de Leon." On the end of the sarcophagus, beneath the feet of the reclining figures, is the following inscription: "Estes cuerpos del Cid y su muger se trasla daron de la capella mayor a esta, con facultad de nuestro Catholico Monarca D. Felipe V, ano 1736." On the four sides of the base were four inscriptions, that have probably been destroyed since my visit to Burgos. Those on the longer sides

We were well received also at Valencia, Valladolid, and Segovia. Finally, we reached Madrid on the 15th of July, 1811. The King made his entry at 5 P.M. A large concourse of people were waiting for him on the road. A kind of triumphal arch had been erected at a short distance from the town, and the magistrates of Madrid were assembled there to receive him. A great number of carriages con-

were alike, one in French, the other in Spanish, and were as follows :

“Owing to the exertions of His Excellency, General of Division, Thiébault, governor of Old Castille, the remains of the Cid and those of Ximena, with the fragments of their tomb were gathered together and brought to this place.”

On the end corresponding with the heads of the two figures :

Anno MDCCCIX.
Regnante
Josepho Napoleone.

Lastly, on the opposite end, were these words.

Quibuscumque temporibus,
populis, locis,
sic inclitum virorum
memori : colenda est.

The demolition and restoration of the tomb had deprived it of much of its antique character. But no less gratitude was due to those who had preserved the fragments. The monument was placed in a public promenade, with good effect.

Whatever may be the date of its construction, it was certainly long after the death of the Cid, which took place in the twelfth century. It is well known also that at that period armorial bearings were not used ; they are not met with much before the fifteenth century.

taining the principal inhabitants of the capital were drawn up on each side of the road. The satisfaction which was visible on the faces of the people, and their frequent acclamations, made this day a pleasant one to the King.

He was not so well pleased with the view taken of his return by the Cortes of Cadiz, nor with the inferences drawn by their newspapers. "Joseph's journey to Paris" said the latter "not having resulted in any modification of the system adopted by Napoleon towards Spain, it is clear, on the one hand, that the Emperor persists in those designs, though he delays carrying them out (which appears to confirm the rumour of an impending rupture with Russia); and, on the other hand, that Joseph is more than ever a puppet, without power and without authority, either because he has been shamefully deceived, or that he is in league with his brother. On either hypothesis, Joseph can only be an object of profound contempt to all Spaniards who love the independence and honour of their country."

It is easy to understand that arguments such as these in the organs of the National Party, based as they were on notorious and indisputable facts, produced an impression on public opinion in Spain, highly unfavourable to the Government and person of the King.

CHAPTER XVI.

The military situation—A Committee is formed to prepare the convocation of the Cortes—Union of Catalonia to the French empire—Imminent rupture between France and Russia—Unfortunate result of this with respect to the effective force in Spain—The English occupy the fortified bridges on the Tagus—Organisation of fresh bands of Guerillas—Famine in Madrid—Discouragement among the French troops—Valencia surrenders to Marshal Suchet, and Ciudad-Rodrigo to the Duke of Wellington—Before setting out on his Russian campaign, the Emperor gives instructions for regulating the military and political affairs of Spain—The English take Badajoz and threaten both North and South at once—Marshal Soult refuses to obey the King's orders—Marshals Suchet and Marmont follow his example—M. Deslandes, the King's private secretary, is killed while on a journey by the guerillas—Cruelties practised by the guerilla bands—Endeavours to convene the Cortes—The English act on the offensive against Marshal Marmont—The King, at the head of reinforcements drawn from the Army of the Centre, goes to the help of the Duke of Ragusa—Before he can reach the Marshal, the latter joins battle with the English and is defeated and wounded—Disastrous consequences of this defeat—The King crosses the Sierra de Guadarrama, and returns to Madrid.

BEFORE proceeding farther I shall give a brief sketch of the situation of military affairs at the time of our return to Madrid.

The principal active troops in Spain, consisted at that time of five distinct corps. The Army of the South, the so-called Army of Portugal, which retained its name although it no longer held a single village in Portugal; the Army of Arragon comprising our troops in Catalonia. These three Corps formed four-fifths of the French troops in Spain. The two others, the Army of the North and the Army of the Centre, were only capable of acting as auxiliaries to the three large corps.

The Army of the South, the most powerful of all, numbering 70,000 to 80,000 men, was commanded by Marshal Soult;* that of Portugal numbering 50,000 to 60,000, by Marshal Marmont, and the third, of 40,000 or 50,000, was commanded by Marshal Suchet.† The Army of the Centre, with the Royal Guard, and the few Spanish troops in the King's service, amounting to 15,000 men, was under the immediate command of the King, whose headquarters were in Madrid. Lastly, the Army of the North, whose headquarters were at Vittoria, and which, formerly commanded by Marshal Bessières, was now under General Caffarelli, numbered barely 12,000 men. Thus the entire French force then in

* These troops consisted of the remains of the corps of the expedition to Portugal, estimated at 30,000 men, and of the troops that had remained to garrison the fortresses on the Spanish frontier.

† He had just obtained his marshal's bâton.

Spain did not amount altogether to more than 200,000 men fit for service.

The Army of the South occupied Andalusia, and still carried on the siege of Cadiz, but was making no progress. The strategy of the English, who, after Massena's retreat had shown themselves in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, had made it necessary to detach a corps of 20,000 from this force, and despatch them into Estramadura. Marshal Soult had placed himself at their head and had fought, on the preceding 15th of May, a sharp engagement with the enemy on the banks of the Albuera, the indecisive issue of which was counted by the English as a victory. After this unsuccessful encounter, Soult had returned to Seville.

The Army of Portugal, whose headquarters since its return to Spain, had been fixed at Salamanca; stretched beyond the Tagus, and could unite with the Army of the South in Estramadura. Its commander, the Duke of Ragusa, was constructing forts to defend the passage across the river.

Marshal Suchet, commanding the Army of Arragon, and holding Tortosa, had, after a bloody siege, obtained possession of Tarragona. He was advancing on Murviedro (the ancient Sagona) and threatening Valencia.

The Armies of the Centre and North took no part in these various movements.

From what I have just said, it will be seen, that at the time of our return to Spain, the French armies, with the exception of that of Arragon, were standing, in some sort, on the defensive. In fact everything was, necessarily, in suspense, until the English in Portugal should make their next move. On the direction taken by them, would depend our own movements. Would they advance into Andalusia in order to raise the siege of Cadiz? or towards the centre of Spain, so as to drive us from the capital? Until they decided on one course or the other, we could only remain on the watch, and prepared to oppose the execution of either plan of campaign. It was evident, moreover, that the Army of the South only was fitted to oppose them with any chance of success; the Army of Portugal was not strong enough to baffle their plans, and should it be itself threatened by them it was needful that the Army of the South should be able to supply immediate reinforcements. It was with these views that all our military arrangements were made. The sequel will show how they were frustrated by a series of blunders and misunderstandings, and what reverses resulted from these fatal differences among our military chiefs.

While awaiting the renewal of hostilities, the King endeavoured to rouse the spirits of the people, and to inspire them with a confidence that seemed

justified by his return. In the first Council of State, held on the 2nd of August, he spoke of the hope of peace, and of plans favourable to Spain that had been formed by the Emperor, and which the pacification of Europe would enable him to carry out. Then, starting from these favourable auspices, he alluded to a period near at hand, when the nation itself would be called on to take part in establishing an order of things, by which the consolidation of the State would be promoted. "Therefore," he continued "we must prepare at once for a convocation of the Cortes, not such as they existed formerly, nor even as they were organised by the constitution of Bayonne, but more numerous, and so composed that the most distinguished men of the nation, without respect to party, should be included among them; to summon, in short, a truly national representation, whose number should be unlimited, and which could lawfully decide the fate of Spain."

Nothing could be better calculated to impress the people than such a declaration as this. The acknowledgment of the nation's right to constitute itself, must necessarily be well received, and the King sealed it, as it were, by immediately appointing a committee of five Councillors of State, who were to draw up a project for the convocation of the Cortes on the basis he had indicated in his speech. But circumstances were not favourable to the benevolent intentions of

the King. However sincere in their expression, he was destined never to have it in his power to carry them out, and this gleam of popularity shone for a moment and then vanished, never to return. The annexation of Catalonia to the French Empire, which the Emperor was declaring almost at the very moment when the King was pledging himself at Madrid to a totally opposite course, made the realisation of his wishes more impossible than ever.* And even supposing, which was very improbable, that the Emperor would depart from the principles on which he had hitherto governed Spain, the power of regulating the fate of that country was about to slip from his own as well as from his brother's grasp.

During our sojourn in Paris, we had had opportunities of observing the first symptoms of a growing coolness between the Cabinets of the Tuileries

* The union of Catalonia with the French empire had been announced to the King, without further formality, by a letter from the Prince de Neuchâtel, in the beginning of September 1811. Subsequently, in March 1812, the French ambassador officially communicated the decrees relating to the annexation of the principality. For the purposes of administration, it was divided into four departments, of which the capital towns were Barcelona, Serida, Leria, and Tarragona. One of these departments bore the name of Bouches-de-l'Ebre; I do not recollect the names of the others. Prefects and sub-prefects, and the other necessary officials arrived from France. Among them was M. Dudon, whose extreme opinions have since obtained for him an evil notoriety. I had known him in Paris as auditor of the Council of State.

and St. Petersburg. Since our departure these clouds had thickened, and a communication made to the King in the beginning of September by the French Ambassador, prepared us for a probably impending rupture. The Duke of Bassano, the then Minister of Exterior Relations, had written a letter on the 27th of August to M. de Lafôret, which he authorised him to show, confidentially, to the King. I read this despatch, which gave particulars of a conversation at the Trianon, on the 25th of August, the fête-day of the Empress, between the Emperor and Prince Kourakin, the Russian Ambassador. The conversation which had taken place in the presence of the whole court, was to the following effect.

The Emperor had begun by attacking Prince Kourakin on the recent military encounters between Russia and the Porte. "I cannot," he said "look on the last affair (on August 4th) as a victory. You preserved no communications beyond the Danube; you were obliged to retreat to the left bank of that river, and there was therefore no victory. In a somewhat similar position, after Essling, I considered myself victorious, because I remained master of the island of Lobau. But what astonishes me most is that, after such doubtful victories, and involved in a war of uncertain issue, your Government, instead of dispatching all your troops to the theatre of war, should hold

back a large proportion in order to station them on the western frontiers of Russia. I am like the Child of Nature; when I cannot explain a thing by real and obvious causes, I always suppose some extraordinary motive. What is the meaning of this massing of troops in the direction of Poland? Am I to be coerced into abandoning the system I have set up? I know Russia's claims on the Duchy of Oldenburg; I am ready to make all the compensation that may be desired; but I will not yield an inch of Poland; nothing that has been united to France shall be taken from her. On any other basis, I am ready to open negotiations. I will appoint some one to treat with you, if you have full powers from your Court."

M. Kourakin having replied that he had none, but that he would hasten to obtain them, the Emperor resumed. "I know of the manifesto," said he, "that Russia has despatched to every Court. I refused to receive it, so that I might have the right to forget it. Thus there is yet time, otherwise I shall be obliged to call in the conscription of 1812."

In the rest of his despatch the Duke of Bassano endeavoured to lessen the impression that must necessarily have been made by this hostile declaration, which had already received a kind of semi-publicity, but the blow had been struck. In vain did the Minister assert that all had passed in a friendly spirit, and that during the rest of the evening Prince

Kourakin had been treated with more than usual courtesy ; the facts were apparent ; it was impossible not to discern a declaration of war in this curious communication, or to reflect without dismay, on the influence which even the possibility of such an event must exercise over Spain.

We soon experienced it. Far from sending us help in men and money, the Emperor began, on various pretexts, to withdraw from the Peninsula all the remaining detachments of his Guard, and a large proportion of cavalry. At the same time our infantry was weakened by the recall of some of the sub-officers, who were ordered to France to form the nucleus of new regiments consisting principally of conscripts. While our various corps were thus being more or less reduced, our enemies were, on the contrary, augmenting their forces, and their spirits were rising at the prospect of the powerful diversion in their favour now being prepared in the North of Europe.

The English could not allow so favourable an opportunity for entering on another campaign to escape them. In the beginning of October 1811, they threatened Ciudad-Rodrigo, and the Army of Portugal was soon obliged to retreat from Estramadura and to fall back on the Tagus. The detachment that had been stationed in Estramadura was subsequently replaced by a corps of about 15,000

men, despatched thither under General Drouet, by Marshal Soult. But this corps had orders not to cross the Tagus, and yet it was only by its junction with the Army of Portugal that the latter could be enabled to withstand the combined forces of the English and the Portuguese. This want of unanimity was fatal, and it greatly contributed to the failure of our operations.

The first moves of the English were strongly supported by the appearance of guerilla bands, organised by the new government at Cadiz, and which now showed themselves more frequently than ever in the environs, and even on the promenades of Madrid.* A column of the Royal Guards marched from the capital and succeeded in scattering them. But no sense of security was reestablished, and the same bands that were defeated and dispersed on one point, would suddenly form again at another, and keep both inhabitants and troops in a state of continual alarm.

On the other hand, the famine that had been foreboded in the beginning of 1811, from the high price of bread in Madrid, became general at the end of the year, throughout the capital and its environs. The Army of Portugal, in ascending the Tagus, had consumed all the bread stuffs on its route, and had

* On January 11th, 1812, a detachment of the band of the Medico, a famous guerilla chief, appeared at very little distance from the Atocha Gate, in the Promenade de Las Delicias, and attacked the persons there, killing some and wounding others.

exhausted the provinces of Toledo and Talavera, which partly supplied Madrid with provisions, while the guerilla bands scattered in La Mancha and in the province of Cuença intercepted all convoys on their way to us. The price of bread rose to such a height in Madrid that it became unattainable by the lower and middle classes,* and we witnessed the fearful spectacle of men actually dying of starvation in the streets.†

Scarcely five months had elapsed since our return, and we had already sunk, as the reader sees, into the same position that had forced us to leave Madrid. The same financial difficulties, the same scarcity of food, the same political situation, generals as independent as before of the King's authority, no plan on which to work, and, supposing one had been formed, the same difficulty of execution, so long as one powerful and uncontested authority did not direct

* The price of bread, reduced to French money, and carefully calculated, rose at the end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812 to 20 and even to 25 sous the pound of 14 ounces. But on June 16th, 1812, the price in Madrid was 5 reals and a half, that is 1 franc 22 cents, at the exchange for 26 cents for 1 real; a pound of 16 ounces thus costing 1 franc 484 m., or 30 sous less 2 centimes.

† The resignation and patience of the population of Madrid were very remarkable during the famine. There were no disturbances, and the small quantity of bread offered for sale on the market place, where, on account of its high price, there were no buyers, was quietly carried back by the sellers through starving crowds, who allowed it to pass them without opposition.

every effort and every endeavour towards one common end. Moreover, we had lost all hope of improvement, and even the delusions that had formerly sustained us. However, as yet, no military event of any importance had taken place. At the end of 1811, the campaign was scarcely opened, but discouragement was already spreading among the troops; to the accustomed ardour of the French soldier had succeeded lax discipline, dislike to the country, and weariness of a long war in detail, which offered a series of dangers without glory. Everything, in fact, foreboded the share that Spain was to have in the disasters that fell upon France during the year 1812, one of the most fatal years recorded in the annals of the country.

The year, however, began in Spain with a brilliant victory. At Murviedro, towards the end of October, Marshall Suchet, after defeating a Spanish army of 23,000 men that had been gathered together by General Blake for the defence of Valencia, had marched on that city, one of the most important in Spain, and noted for the fertility of the surrounding country and for its agricultural pursuits. During December, while the siege artillery was being brought from Arragon, the French seized the suburb on the left bank of the Guadalaviar, and, after an obstinate resistance, the Port of Valencia and Grao. On the 26th of December the city was completely invested.

Trenches were opened on the night of the 1st of January, 1812, and the bombardment was begun on the 5th, and continued throughout the night. On the morning of the 6th, Marshal Suchet offered a capitulation. This was declined by General Blake, who after an unsuccessful attempt to come out of Valencia at the head of his army, had been driven back, and had resumed the command of the town. The bombardment was then renewed with increased vigour; in three days and nights 2700 shells were thrown into the town, setting it on fire several times. When, however, two batteries of ten twenty-four pounders, had been raised with incredible quickness, and were ready to make a breach in the last defences, when mines had been made under the nearest houses of the suburbs and connected with the two principal gates, while our troops were preparing for an assault, General Blake thought it his duty to spare a populous and flourishing town from the horrors of being taken by storm. He accepted the conditions he had refused a few days before, and signed the capitulation on the 9th of January. The whole Spanish Army in Valencia, numbering even then 18,000 men, were our prisoners, including twenty-two generals, among whom was Blake, the Captain General and member of the Regency. An immense spoil in guns and ammunition also fell into our hands. Never since the beginning of the War had the Spaniards suffered

so terrible a reverse. By the capitulation of Valencia they lost almost all their remaining officers of any distinction, and almost all their regular troops.

An Imperial decree of the 24th of January, 1812, conferred on Marshal Suchet the title of Duke of Albufera, and the reward was certainly deserved, for the conquest of Valencia was due solely to the talents and activity of the Marshal, and he accomplished it with means that appeared insufficient for the great result he obtained. For, although Marshal Marmont had detached a corps of cavalry, under General Montbrun to support the operations of the Army of Arragon, all was over before it reached the field of battle. Thus the glory acquired in this campaign by Marshal Suchet has remained his own entirely. Moreover, military men blamed the movement thus made by the Duke of Ragusa, who, without consultation with Marshal Suchet, diminished the strength of his army at a time when he needed his whole force to oppose an enemy by whom he might expect to be specially attacked. And it happened in fact that the English, having, towards the middle of January, invested Ciudad-Rodrigo, Marshal Marmont found himself unable, through the diminished numbers of his army, to succour that fortress,* which

* The Army of Portugal, which even after the departure of Montbrun was insufficient to cope with the English, had been further reduced by supplying garrisons to the two fortresses

surrendered to Wellington at the end of January after a formal seige of nine days. In informing the King of this, the Duke of Ragusa attributed the fall of the town to the inefficient defence of the Commandant of Ciudad-Rodrigo, who had shut himself up, he said, in a church. Such excuses are often made by generals in order to cast the blame due to circumstances, or to consequences of their own blunders, on their inferiors. But no one was deceived. The truth was--and in Madrid it was in everybody's mouth--that if the Duke of Ragusa had acted in accordance with his instructions from Paris, and had not sent a large detachment of his army to Valencia, even hesitating, it was said, whether he should not place himself at its head in order to wrest the glory of victory from Marshal Suchet, he could have given his mind more completely to the English, who should have been his chief concern, and would probably have been able to prevent the loss of so important a stronghold. This *débüt* was not calculated to inspire any great confidence in the military ability of the young Marshal, who until then had held no command in chief, who had not distinguished himself by any brilliant action, and who owed the high position in which he

constructed at great expense by Marshal Marmont. These were situated in advance of the Almaraz and Arzobispo bridges on the Tagus. They were intended to defend the passage of the river, but were of no use.

had succeeded one of the most illustrious captains of the time, solely to the Emperor's partiality for one of his own pupils.

After the reduction of Ciudad-Rodrigo, where they had left a strong garrison, the English recrossed the Agueda and withdrew to Portugal. Thence they soon returned to the left bank of the Tagus, and advanced by way of Alentejo on Badajoz, to which they purposed laying seige. On this Marshal Marmont again spread his forces towards the Tagus, thus completely exhausting the province of Toledo. The rest of his army remained on the Tormes. In this position he waited for the further proceedings of the English, with insufficient forces, as has been seen, on every point, and unable to offer effective opposition to the enemy, whether they attacked Badajoz or Salamanca.

Meanwhile the differences that had arisen between Russia and France, far from diminishing, assumed a more serious character every day. All our accounts from Paris announced an impending rupture and the approaching departure of the Emperor. He could not however leave France without taking some decisive measures with regard to Spain, nor was it long before we knew his decision concerning us. We were informed of it by a letter from the Prince de Neûchatel, dated the 18th of February, 1812, and received by the King on the 8th of March. He communi-

cated its contents to us. The Prince wrote, that in the event of the Emperor's being obliged by circumstances to proceed to Poland, he intended to confer the command of all the armies then in Spain on the King, and to give him Marshal Jourdan as his Major-General. The Emperor also promised a subsidy of one million (£40,000) per month during the year 1812, and sixteen millions (£640,000) out of the contribution of fifty millions (£2,000,000) that he had levied on the city of Valencia. The letter contained in addition some military directions. The Army of Portugal was ordered to evacuate Talavera and to fall back on the Tormes, and, as this movement would cut off its communication with Estramadura, it was to be succeeded in its various posts by detachments from the Army of the Centre. Shortly afterwards, on the 2nd of April, an officer of the Prince de Neûchatel arrived at Madrid with a letter to the King, dated the 16th of March, in which the Prince confirmed his previous letter, and announced, in addition, that the Emperor would make known the policy to be followed in Spanish affairs to the King through his ambassador at Madrid, and as to military operations, the Prince purposed writing fully on the subject on the following day. Thus the Emperor, on the eve of departure for the campaign in Russia, was acting towards Spain much as he had acted in 1808, when he left Madrid, first in pursuit

of the English, and then to proceed to Germany, whither he was called by the war in Austria. He hastened to the point of greatest danger, and seized on the quickest and simplest plan of regulating the affairs of Spain. But what a task he was committing to the King in his then position, in the midst of a devastated country and a famine stricken capital! What were the chances of success, when all the elements of action were at variance the one with the other? With Marshals accustomed for three years to absolute independence, and a Major-General who, notwithstanding his military ability, was not in the Emperor's good graces, and consequently possessed no authority over the heads of the army,* I foresaw nothing but reverses succeeded by a retreat, which, if not disgraceful, would at least be inglorious. Far from rejoicing at this pretended mark of confidence, it inspired me with a sense of alarm. I did not conceal my disgust, but the King took a less gloomy view of the subject. He was still hopeful; besides, how could he refuse? By returning to Spain he had submitted beforehand to every demand, and it was too late to retreat.

A few days later the French ambassador, as the

* In the preceding year the Emperor had struck off Marshal Jourdan's name from the list of the Marshals of the Empire published in the Imperial Almanac. This act of injustice was afterwards repaired, but it had nevertheless been injurious to the Marshal's reputation.

Prince of Neuchâtel had previously informed us, handed to the King the Emperor's instructions concerning the policy to be followed in Spain. They were written in a rather diffuse style, and were unsigned.

“The Spaniards must be sick of war. Famine, poverty, and the ills inflicted on them either by the French and English, or even by their own defenders, the guerillas, more injurious to them than regular troops, must have made them feel the necessity for putting an end to all these calamities. You must take advantage of this state of feeling, in which we suppose them to be, and either by addresses presented by the principal State Bodies and the Municipalities, or by writings skilfully directed against the English, but always sparing (note this) the French, of whom no evil must be said, bring about the meeting of a national assembly under the name of Cortes-Extraordinary, to counterbalance the Cortes of Cadiz. The assembly might be composed of eight hundred persons, carefully chosen, among whom might even be admitted deputies from the Cadiz Cortes, if any could be induced to come. Deputies would be summoned from Castile, Andalusia, the Kingdom of Valencia and Galicia. The Emperor would not object even to Catalonia, Navarre and Guipuscoa being represented, although he considers that no change must be attempted in

the form of Government of those provinces (note this point also).

“The Cortes being thus composed and assembled, could in six weeks’ time draw up a constitution such as that of the Cadiz Cortes,* which is, in fact, only a copy of that of Bayonne, with the exception of certain fanciful alterations which are now in fashion, and which must be conceded.

“Matters being thus arranged, the Emperor would not hesitate to declare that he and the King were perfectly agreed. The independence and integrity of the Spanish territory would be maintained, and the French troops would be withdrawn by degrees, as their presence ceased to be necessary to the country.”

The above suggestions, greatly diluted, were accompanied by some not very clear explanations. It was evident that a way of escape, in the matter of interpretation, was contrived. Moreover the Spanish Ministry were severely reproached; they had done nothing right; they had profited by nothing; they had not convened the Cortes in time; in short the accusations were characterized by that good faith which usually prevails in the dealings of the strong with the weak.

* The constitution of the Cortes was not published at Cadiz until the 18th of March, 1812; but the draft was known in Paris, and had undergone some unimportant alterations only in passing through the assembly.

The reader can see, by this inexplicable document, which pointed out no practicable path, that the Emperor feigned approval of the views manifested by the King on his return to Madrid, and appeared to revert to the ideas he had himself communicated in Paris to the Marquis d'Almenara, of which I have already spoken. But if they were inadmissible a year previously, they were much more so at the time when they were again brought forward. The note was therefore nothing but a delusion, and the ambassador's caution in not signing it, proved that the Emperor had perceived its ridiculous side, and would never have owned it.

Such was the assistance offered to us in our difficulties. As for the policy to be followed in military affairs, on which it was much more essential that the Emperor should explain himself, the promised directions on that subject were long delayed, and the reader will shortly see to what they were reduced.

Yet they had never been more needed. Our enemies were growing stronger on every side. The English were besieging Badajoz, and an attempt by Marshal Soult to succour that city had failed. The town surrendered on the 7th of April, before the troops under the Duke of Dalmatia had reached the Guadiana. Marshal Marmont, who should have contributed to the success of Soult's movements by advancing to the Tagus and thence

into Estramadura, kept strictly, on this occasion, to his instructions from Paris. He remained on the Tormes, but took it into his head to make a diversion in favour of the Army of the South, by entering Portugal. What an idea! how could he hope to draw away the English from the siege of Badajoz, by showing himself on the frontier of a country into which he could not attempt to penetrate, after having allowed Ciudad-Rodrigo to fall into the enemy's hands? His demonstration had not the slightest effect on the English, and the Duke of Ragusa, on hearing of the fall of Badajoz, hastened back across the Agueda and the Coa, in order to regain his positions on the line to Salamanca. Marshal Soult, on the other hand, withdrew hastily into Andalusia, where the appearance of a Spanish army under General Ballesteros, called urgently for his presence; and as it was natural to suppose that the English would pursue him, the King sent commands to the Duke of Ragusa to draw near the Tagus, and to be prepared at any moment to cross the river by the Almaraz bridge. Scarcely however had these orders been despatched, when letters were received from Marshal Marmont, announcing that the enemy had sent forward five divisions on the right bank of the Tagus, and was advancing on the Coa, occupying Pinhel and Lamago; and that his headquarters were at Fuente-Grimaldo. The English seemed therefore to be threatening not the South

but the North. The first orders were consequently countermanded, and it became necessary to put the Army of Portugal in a state to oppose them, and to accept a battle with advantage. The King, therefore, ordered the Duke of Dalmatia to raise Count d'Erlon's corps in Estramadura to 20,000 men, and to be prepared to despatch this reinforcement across the Tagus to the help of the Army of Portugal.

Such was the state of affairs in the month of May, 1812. The English, who were masters of Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz, were free to attack either Soult or Marmont. But although their recent movements seemed to point to the latter course, they had not yet shown their hand sufficiently to preclude all uncertainty. And before actually coming to a decision, they intended to occupy the passages of the Tagus that we had fortified, so as to cut off direct communication between the armies of the South, and of Portugal, and to force them to fight separately. They succeeded in their plan, and obtained possession, at the end of May, of the forts constructed by the Duke of Ragusa, and afterwards of the bridge at Almaraz.

This successful attack, of which we were informed on the 29th of May by a letter from General Foy, threw Madrid into a state of alarm, and our enemies in the city, that is to say the majority of the inhabitants,

began to hope, as they had hoped three years before, for the coming of the English. But the moment had not yet arrived. Lord Wellington would not have made such a mistake as to enter Madrid, before he had defeated one of the two armies that might surprise and drive him from it. During part of the month of June, therefore, the English remained in the advantageous positions they were holding, and concentrated all their forces and means of war. As for us, we remained on the defensive, observing their movements, and the King made the following disposition of his resources.

It had long been admitted that the Army of Portugal would be unable, if attacked by the English, to cope with their superior forces. It was therefore necessary to provide reinforcements, and the corps under Count d'Erlon, still in Estramadura, was best able and could most quickly come to its assistance. The orders that had been already given, to augment that corps and keep it in readiness to cross the Tagus were therefore renewed, more positively than before. But neither Marshal Jourdan's letters, nor even the King's, could induce the Duke of Dalmatia to obey. He declared that if Count d'Erlon's corps were detached from his army, it would be impossible for him to answer for Andalusia. He even proposed that the King should

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It had long been admitted that the Army of Portugal would be unable, if attacked by the English, to cope with their superior forces. It was therefore necessary to provide reinforcements, and the corps under Count d'Erlon, still in Estramadura, was best able and could most quickly come to its assistance. The orders that had been already given, to augment that corps and keep it in readiness to cross the Tagus were therefore renewed, more positively than before. But neither Marshal Jourdan's letters, nor even the King's, could induce the Duke of Dalmatia to obey. He declared that if Count d'Erlon's corps were detached from his army, it would be impossible for him to answer for Andalusia. He even proposed that the King should

come and join him there,* if he did not think himself able to hold Madrid. In short, all the King's authority, whether as Sovereign, or as Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Spain, failed to shake the obstinate determination of the Marshal, who offered to resign rather than yield the point, and Count d'Erlon's corps remained where it was.

The King had, at the same time, requested Marshal Suchet to send a detachment of his force to protect Madrid, so as to enable him to withdraw part of the Army of the Centre from the capital and its environs, and despatch it to the help of the Army of Portugal, if all other means of reinforcement should fail, but in this direction, too, he was unsuccessful. Marshal Suchet replied that his troops barely sufficed to maintain his conquest, and that, far from being able to spare any, he himself needed reinforcements. He informed the King, moreover, that the Emperor had bestowed on him exclusively, the command of Catalonia, Arragon, and the kingdom of Valencia, and had directed him to employ the troops under his orders for the defence of those provinces only. Like Marshal Soult, he concluded by offering to resign. The Army of Arragon was

* It is needless to say that this proposition was declined. Had the King accepted it, he would have been entirely separated from France, and it had been particularly enjoined on him to maintain his communications.

therefore independent of the Commander-in-chief, and exempt from the King's authority.

This extraordinary arrangement, Marshal Soult's refusal to obey the orders of the Major-General, the independence exhibited by the Duke of Ragusa, who had gone so far as to shut the gates of Talavera on Amoroz,* a Councillor of State, who had been sent thither to concert measures for provisioning Madrid,† the excesses committed by some officers of the Army of Portugal, who were arbitrarily levying taxes even in the provinces occupied by the Army of the Centre under the immediate command of the King;‡ all contributed to make the command in chief that had been bestowed upon him, a mere sham. There remained to him only the empty title, and the whole responsibility, from which there was no means of escape.

In this critical position, the King wrote urgent letters to the Emperor and to the Prince of Neûchatel. But what replies could he hope for? The Emperor was far away from Paris,‡ the Prince of Neûchatel had ac-

* The same Amoroz who subsequently became known in Paris by his establishment for a new system of gymnastics.

† The colonel of the 50th regiment of the line, belonging to the Army of Portugal, had taken possession of one of the districts of the province of Segovia, and had threatened to lead his troops against the French garrisons of some villages occupied by detachments from the Army of the Centre, if they attempted to oppose him.

‡ He had left Paris for the Russian campaign on the 9th of June.

accompanied him, and before his departure had written a very short letter, in which, without giving any detailed instructions for the conduct of the war, he confined himself to these three points, "Defend the north of Spain, maintain the conquests already made and especially the communication with France, and keep on the defensive, until further orders." He neither defined the means of carrying out these directions, nor dictated our line of action in the event of our being attacked and defeated. It would seem also that these instructions were of so little value that they had not even been transmitted to the Duke of Dalmatia, since he obstinately refused to lend any help to the Army of Portugal, although this would evidently have entered into the plan enjoined on us by the Emperor.

Amid these internal disorders, and misunderstandings that had already cost us more than one reverse, and which foreboded others of a still graver nature, private troubles were increasing. The guerilla-bands, now more audacious than ever, frequently surprised and plundered our convoys. A very important one, strongly escorted, and including M. Deslandes, the King's private secretary, who was on his way to Paris with his wife, was attacked on the 6th of April, 1812, between Salinas and Vittoria.* M. Deslandes was

* The attack has been made the subject of a painting, by General Lycinne, which was exhibited at the Louvre.

killed in defending his wife who fell into the hands of the famous guerilla chief, Don Francisco Espoz y Mina.* The King was painfully affected by this event. He had a great and well-deserved esteem for M. Deslandes, who possessed his entire confidence and was the bearer of letters from the King which were seized on him.† As for myself, his death caused me the deepest grief. No man ever had stronger claims to the regret of those who knew him than M. Deslandes. Placed in a very difficult position, he never used his influence except for the benefit of those who had recourse to him. His upright character and kind heart deserved a better fate.

Shortly after this tragic event, the city of Burgos was surprised by another band, and the hospital burned. Cuença also was occupied for a short time by a great number of guerillas under the orders of the Empecinado,‡ a chieftain no less famous than Mina. Baron Bourdon, whom the King had just sent there in the capacity of Royal Commissioner,

* Mina, one of whose sisters was at that time a prisoner at Pampeluna, wrote to the King, and offered to exchange Madame Deslandes for his sister.

† They were addressed to various members of the King's family, and although such letters should have been respected, were published in the Cadiz newspapers.

‡ Don Juan Martin, surnamed the *Empecinado*, or the *pitch-coloured*.

perished in the massacres and disorders of all kinds that ensued.

The fury displayed by the guerilla-bands, their cruelty and their excesses of all kinds, proved the height to which hatred and exasperation against the French had attained, and these sentiments were felt and expressed on all sides by nearly the whole nation, whose hopes were encouraged by our reverses and by the war with Russia. It was therefore almost puerile to attempt to carry out the plan indicated by the Emperor in the note his ambassador had handed to the King; that of convening an assembly of Cortes-Extraordinary. Some attempts in that direction were nevertheless made, some pamphlets were disseminated, and some newspaper articles written to prepare the public mind. A solemn deputation from the district and municipality of Madrid came to the Palace on the 7th of May, and presented an address asking for the Convocation. But steps evidently suggested, articles written for hire, and intrigues which deceived nobody, could be productive of no result; they completely failed of their object, and were soon given up. Arms alone could decide the question of our domination in Spain, or our complete expulsion from the country, and I have now only to give from documents lying before me, and from events that I actually witnessed, the

† This invasion of Cuença took place on the 12th of May, 1812.

brief history of the successive defeats that led to the latter result.

Wellington, after leaving a considerable force under General Hill, to occupy the forts and bridges of the Tagus, crossed the Agueda at the head of the English army on the 12th of June, and advanced towards the Tormes. He entered Salamanca on the 17th. The French had evacuated the town, leaving however a garrison in the citadel. As we had received no intelligence of Marshal Marmont since the movements of the English had become known, great anxiety prevailed for some days in Madrid. A letter from the Marshal, dated the 22nd of June, at last reached the King on the 1st of July, confirming all we had heard of the advance of the enemy. The Army of Portugal, retreating from the English, was concentrated on the right bank of the Douro, between Zamora and Toro, and the Marshal stated that he did not think himself sufficiently strong to attack the enemy, until he had received the expected reinforcements from the Army of the North. Yet it was impossible to believe that the English would delay their attack for any length of time, and a serious engagement appeared imminent. There was nothing to hope for from the Army of the South. The Duke of Dalmatia asserted that sooner or later the English would certainly march on Andalusia, although their movements contradicted this presumption. General Hill therefore had not been

attacked on the Tagus, a diversion which might have set free the Army of Portugal, and even supposing he had crossed to the right bank of the river to join the main English army, Count Erlon had orders not to follow him. Thus, at any moment, the Army of Portugal might find itself assailed by the whole united forces of the enemy.

In this extremity, the King resolved on procuring from the Army of the Centre the help he had been unable to obtain from the Army of the South, and on marching himself at the head of that reinforcement to join the Army of Portugal. He acquainted the Duke of Ragusa with his intentions, and took every possible means, compatible with the difficulty of correspondence, to ensure that the information should reach him. Moreover, the Marshal having stated that he would not act on the offensive until he had received the expected reinforcements from the Army of the North, the King calculated that he could arrive with his troops on the Douro at about the same time with those from the far more distant Army of the North. He reckoned, therefore, on finding Marmont on the Douro, and merely directed him to cross to the left bank, in order to meet him and to effect a junction between Peña-Aranda and Arevalo.

The King left Madrid on the 20th of July, at the head of 14,000 men, excellent soldiers, and with good artillery. I accompanied him, and we passed the night

of the 22nd at the Escorial.* On the 23rd we crossed the Guadarrama mountain, and encamped on the 24th near the village of Blasco-Sancho, four leagues from Peña-Aranda, one of the spots indicated to the Duke of Ragusa for effecting our junction with his troops. We were surprised, however, to meet with no messenger from him. But as we had heard on our way of an engagement that was said to have taken place near the Douro,† in which the French had had the advantage, we naturally concluded that the Marshal, in conformity with his instructions, had crossed to the left bank of the Douro, and counting

* I had little leisure to examine this celebrated convent, accounts of which are met with, however, in every direction. A great part of the books and pictures it had formerly contained had been removed to Madrid. But the frescoes of Luca-Giordano remained. They are full of life, boldly conceived, and executed with ease, but wanting in correctness and grandeur.

I went down into the Pantheon—the subterranean chapel containing the remains of the kings and queens of Spain. I saw their tombs, from Charles V. to Charles III. At a short distance is a spot called the Pantheon of the Infantes. The coffin of Don Carlos, son of Philip II., was open. The head, which I held in my hands, is separated from the body, and it seems evident that it had been cut off. The upper part of the skull had been sawn. These circumstances, which have never been recorded, to my knowledge, may perhaps throw some light on the manner of the Prince's death.

† We subsequently learned that there had been an engagement between our vanguard at Castejou on the 18th of July, and a detachment of General Cotton's corps, in which we had had the advantage.

on a speedy meeting we advanced, full of hope and confidence.

Orders were already issued for leaving Blasco-Sancho on the following day, when, towards evening, a peasant brought news that the Army of Portugal, after being beaten by the English near Salamanca, was now, the 24th of July, at Arevalo.* An express instantly despatched thither, and our departure, which had been ordered to take place at dawn, was delayed. But the return of our messenger at 8 A.M. on the 25th left us no room for doubt. He brought two letters, one from the Duke of Ragusa, the other from General Clausel, both dated Arevalo, the 24th of July. The former contained the following particulars:

“On the 18th of July the Army of Portugal had crossed the Douro at Tordesillas. The English position at San Cristoval on the left bank of the river was turned, and they retreated with some haste. During the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the two armies had advanced almost on parallel lines; but the English having halted before Salamanca, Marshal Marmont decided on crossing the Tormes, and took up his position on the left bank, behind Salamanca. The English, whose communication with Portugal would thus be entirely cut off, having no other alternative,

* A town of some importance, four leagues from Peña-Aranda on the road from Olmedo to Valladolid.

determined to cross the Tormes by the Salamanca bridge, and to risk a battle which had become unavoidable.

This took place near the village of Los Arapiles on the 22nd of July.* The beginning of the action had been in favour of the French; but our left wing having been spread too far in order to turn the enemy's position, was driven back by the English, and the battle was lost. Marshal Marmont was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell. Generals Thomire and Desgraviers were killed; Generals Bonnet and Clausel wounded. Our losses were reckoned at over 7000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.† After the battle, Marshal Clausel took command of the troops, and the French army hastily crossed the Tormes and marched on Arevalo and Olmedo so as to reach the road to Valladolid.

General Clausel's letter was still more distressing than that of the Duke of Ragusa. He stated that it was out of his power to act on the offensive, even if

* The Allied Army numbered about 70,000 men. English 35,000; Portuguese, 20,000; Spaniards, 15,000. The Army of Portugal consisted of barely 55,000.

† According to official despatches of Lord Wellington, the English losses were: killed, 694; wounded, 4270. The Portuguese lost 338 killed, and 1,648 wounded. The Spanish lost but 2 men killed and 4 wounded. But the allies captured eleven guns from the French and a considerable amount of ammunition and baggage.

reinforced by the King's troops, and he should continue his retreat without a halt, so as not to lose a march he had gained on the enemy, and to reach Valladolid before them. Neither the Marshal nor the General seemed to have been aware, before the battle, of the King's movements, and probably neither of them would have thought of informing us of what had occurred, had we not sent an express to Arevalo.

The reader may judge by this of the risk we had run. If we had not chanced to hear how matters were turning, we should have set out on the morning of the 25th for Peña-Aranda, where we should have found the enemy instead of the Army of Portugal. There was not a moment to lose in getting away from a position so full of danger. At noon we therefore left Blasco-Sancho for Lebajoz, so as to prepare as quickly as possible for our return over the Puerto de Guadarrama.

During the march we were lost in conjectures as to the Duke of Ragusa's motives for the unexpected movement he had made. After waiting five-and-twenty days on the right bank of the Douro for the help he had asked for from the Army of the North ; after having repeatedly written and protested that he was not strong enough to cope with the English army ; after having learned that the King was marching to his succour at the head of 14,000 men ; how was it that he suddenly decided on crossing the

Douro? how was it that, without having effected a junction, either with the troops coming from the North, or with those from Madrid, he had taken the offensive against the enemy who were in position on the left bank of the river, and who had made no sign of attacking him? Even admitting that none of the King's numerous letters or messages had reached him, he could not, at any rate, be ignorant that a detachment from the Army of the North was drawing near,* and that if he prolonged only for four or five days the state of inactivity which he had maintained for nearly a month, he would receive such an increase of strength as would give him a decided numerical superiority over the enemy. Could it have been fear of losing the chief command which would have fallen to the King? Could it have been the desire to keep and not share the glory of a victory, that had led him thus to sacrifice everything to personal vanity? On this we could come to no decision, and it is a mystery to this day. But whatever may have been the Duke's secret motives, and it would be rash to pronounce on them, his strategy cannot under the circumstances be justified in a military point of view. It has always been looked upon by military authorities as a great blunder; and, in conclusion, whether it were a blunder or whether merely ill-fortune, few

* On the 20th of July the detachment in question was at Pallos, within three days' march of the Army of Portugal.

lost battles have had so fatal an influence on the destiny of a campaign as that of Los Arapiles.*

After taking a few hours' rest at Lebajoz, we again set out with the intention of crossing the Sierra de Guadarrama on the morning of the 27th of July. But at some distance from the Venta de San-Rafael, at the foot of the mountain, we were joined by Colonel Fabvier, Marshal Marmont's aide-de-camp. He brought letters from the Duke of Ragusa and General Clausel, dated Olmedo, July 25th. Both writers urged the King to make a movement in favour of the Army of Portugal, by delaying the passage of the Guadarrama, so as to hold the enemy in check, and to lessen the speed of the pursuit, by dividing his attention. They intimated that if the King consented to their request the Army of Portugal could perhaps remain on the left bank of the Douro, and join the Army of the Centre. The King yielded, and, changing our route, we advanced towards Segovia. By this movement, generous rather than prudent, the capital was evidently endangered. The Puerto de Guadarrama, by which the enemy might reach Madrid if they chose to give up the pursuit of their defeated foes, was left unprotected, and they might enter the city, before we could take any steps either for its defence or its evacuation.

We marched nevertheless to Segovia, where we

* See Translators' note at the end of this chapter.

remained three days. But having learned that the Army of Portugal was still in retreat, and had crossed the Douro, and being in ignorance as to whether the English were still in pursuit beyond the river, we began to fear that they might fall on us with all their strength. We therefore deferred no longer our return to Madrid, and leaving Segovia on the 31st of July,* we crossed the Sierra de Guadarrama on the 1st of August and reached the capital on the 2nd.

* During the march from Segovia to the Guadarrama, the King received letters from Paris that had been found on a courier arrested by Lord Wellington's advanced guard, and which he had caused to be forwarded. They referred to family affairs. This act of soldierly courtesy on the part of the English general deserves to be recorded. Some newspapers found with the letters informed us that the French army had crossed the Niemen.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATORS.

The action of which Count Miot de Melito gives an account in this chapter, and to which he gives the title of 'The Battle of the Arapiles,' formed a portion of the general operations of the siege of Salamanca, and is described by the Duke of Wellington in his despatch of the 24th of July, 1812, addressed to Earl Bathurst, from Flores de Avila. (See 'Selections from the Despatches and General Orders of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington. By Lieut-Col. Gurwood.' Murray.) The whole despatch, which is deeply interesting, will be found in the Appendix. Its perusal may render Count Miot's narrative more clear to English readers, unaccustomed to a mention of a Battle of the Arapiles, among the events of the Peninsular War.

CHAPTER XVII.

The English army crosses the Sierra of Guadarrama, and occupies the plain which surrounds Madrid—The French evacuate the capital—The King at the head of the Army of the Centre, preceded by an immense convoy, withdraws towards Valencia—Sufferings of the troops and of the convoy during the march across La Mancha from heat and want of water—They reach the fertile plains of the kingdom of Valencia—The King enters the city of Valencia—Accusations against the King contained in a despatch from Marshal Soult to the Duke of Feltre, which falls accidentally into Joseph's hands—Colonel Desprez is sent on a mission to the Emperor—Marshal Soult evacuates Andalusia—Conference between Soult and the King at Fuente de Higuera, in which it is decided that the Armies of the South and of the Centre shall unite with that of Portugal—The two first effect their junction at Ocaña—The English, after failing in their siege of the fortress of Burgos, fall back hastily on the Douro and evacuate Madrid—Excesses committed by them while retreating—The three Armies of the South, the Centre, and Portugal effect their junction at Peña-Aranda—Changes made by the King in the command of the army—Lord Wellington avoids an encounter and retreats to Portugal—The three French armies enter the cantonments assigned them by the King.

OUR return to the capital did not produce the impression that might have been caused had its reasons

been known. The news of the lost battle of Arapiles had not as yet been made public, and the silence of the Madrid journals on the recent events, contributed to keep up a delusion, which for a few days it was undesirable to dispel. On leaving Segovia the King had sent formal commands to Marshal Soult to evacuate Andalusia, and if that order were punctually executed, the Army of the South would be enabled to join that of the Centre for the defence of the Capital, and even to act on the offensive if the English were still in pursuit of the Army of Portugal beyond the Douro.

But all uncertainty was soon at an end, and the movements of the enemy became decisive. On the 8th of August, the troops we had left at the foot of the Sierra de Guadarrama, descried the advanced guard of the Allied Army, and had only just time to fall back, before the numerous battalions of the enemy were poured out on the vast and barren plain extending from the mountains to Madrid. The evacuation of the capital was ordered. Only the posts were left at the gates, and a small detachment at the Retiro, quite unable to defend it.

The 9th of August was occupied with preparations for our departure in the midst of confusion and agitation difficult to describe. All the French, and those among the Spaniards who were compromised and who had more to fear from the vengeance of their

own countrymen than from the severity of the victors, hastened to quit the city with their families. Many, without means of transport, or money to procure it, resolved to travel on foot. At daybreak on the 10th of August, a convoy of three hundred conveyances of all sorts, followed by large crowds on foot, assembled at the Toledo Bridge, and escorted by two battalions of infantry took the road to Aranjuez.* The King left Madrid on the same day at the head of a corps of about 18,000 men,† and fixed his headquarters at Legañez, two leagues from the capital, thus keeping to the right of the convoy, so as to cover it and to observe the movements of the enemy. On the following day, the 11th, he removed to Alcorcon, and sent out a strong reconnoitring party to discover the real strength of the enemy. A cavalry engagement, in which we had the advantage, took place between these troops and the enemy. We were opposed by Portuguese cavalry, and English mounted artillery. The latter lost many men, and a few more were

* Among those who accompanied King Joseph in his retreat from Madrid was M. de Mohrenheim, the Russian Chargé d’Affaires. Although war had broken out between Russia and France, he thought himself bound to act on the instructions he had received on setting out for Madrid. He was directed by these to follow the example of the French Ambassador in all cases.

† This corps consisted of the entire Army of the Centre, and of the Royal Guard, both infantry and cavalry.

taken prisoners.* I spoke to one of them, an English captain of artillery. He told me that Wellington was at the head of the army, and on that day was at Torres-Lodrones.†

From what had been seen of the enemy, and from the prisoners' reports, there could be no doubt that the whole Allied Army was present. Retreat therefore became a necessity, and it was decided we should fall back on Valencia. On the morning of the 12th the evacuation of Madrid was accomplished. As our last soldiers marched out, a few shots were fired at the gates of the town. We passed the night at Valdemoro. The enemy did not pursue us. On the 13th of August we crossed the Tagus, and after destroying the bridges in our rear, we came up with the convoy that had left Madrid on the 10th.

On the 12th the English entered the capital and were received as deliverers. The shops that had been closed for several days were again opened; the inhabitants proclaimed their delight in every way they could think of; the windows were hung with tapestry and adorned with flowers; whenever the English officers appeared they were received with

* The engagement took place at Maya-la-Honda, a village three leagues from Madrid, between the high road to the Escorial, and that to Talavera. General Treilhard commanded the French.

† A village two leagues from Madrid, on the road to San Ildefonso.

acclamations and applause. In the midst of these transports of popular joy, the Constitution given to Spain by the Cortes was solemnly proclaimed, and immediately put into execution. The civil administration of Madrid was confided to officials appointed by the Regency. A new Municipality was installed in office according to constitutional forms, and before entering on its functions proceeded in state to visit the English General who had taken up his residence in the palace of the Kings of Spain, and lavished praise and thanksgiving on the victor of the Arapiles.

The deputation reminded him of all his recently acquired claims to glory, and, placing the capital under his powerful protection, implored him to complete his task by restoring to Spain the monarch who was destined to rule constitutionally over a nation rendered worthy, by the sacrifices it had made, of its newly recovered liberty.

Lord Wellington, in reply, promised to maintain order and tranquillity in Madrid; he congratulated himself on seeing before him a body of magistrates elected according to the Constitution, and who, honoured as they were with the confidence of the public, would be enabled to carry out the laws with impartiality. He protested that he took a personal interest in the cause of Spain, and declared that England would shrink from no sacrifice to ensure the independence and prosperity of the nation.

The Cortes and the Regency were enjoying an unexpected triumph. Their commands were obeyed in Madrid, and their authority recognised in the capital, so long occupied by the enemy, whom they had courageously withstood. But they made an unwise use of the power conferred on them by English troops, and one which diminished the number of their adherents. Unnecessary acts of violence were resorted to against the wives and children of those Spaniards who, having accompanied the Government to which they had attached themselves, had left their families behind them in Madrid, either from a conviction they would be in safety, or from inability to provide for their removal. Individuals of no importance whatever were subjected to inquiries of an odious and often ridiculous nature. By a decree, dated the 21st of September, all Spaniards who had served or were serving King Joseph, were declared ineligible to public functions, and by a law of the 29th of the same month, magistrates were directed to keep a watch over those individuals who, on account of their conduct or their political opinions, were unpopular in the towns or villages in which they dwelt. Lastly, innocent children were ruined, by the confiscation of the property of the absent, while unscrupulous informers and officials were enriched.

While the agents of the Regency were indulging in this violent reaction, Wellington was reposing on

his laurels at Madrid. Buen Retiro, where a garrison of 1500 men had been most imprudently left, had been invested on the 13th of August, and had fallen on the following day. The town of Guadalajara, in which some troops had been forgotten, had surrendered on the 16th. There was not a single Frenchman remaining in the two Castilles, and, apparently, there was nothing to detain the allies. Since Lord Wellington, instead of continuing the pursuit of the Army of Portugal, had decided on marching on Madrid, so as to drive King Joseph from that city, he should, at least, have endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Army Corps which had left the capital, either with the Army of Arragon, which occupied Valencia, or with the Army of the South in Andalusia. This would have been the more easily accomplished, inasmuch as the Madrid Corps was encumbered with a numerous convoy, and marched very slowly. But to our great surprise and delight, Lord Wellington remained nearly three weeks inactive at Madrid, and allowed Joseph to retreat unmolested to Valencia. This mistake, most advantageous for us, entailed very serious consequences on the English, only two months later. The strange inaction of their general lost them all the fruit of their victory at Los Arapiles.

At Ocaña the small Army Corps of Madrid had joined the convoy, which then followed the fine

highroad leading to Valencia. The King and his troops bore to the right, and marched by cross roads in a parallel line with the convoy, thus protecting its flank and rear. But, after some days, as there was no enemy in sight, this precaution became unnecessary, and our only difficulties were excessive heat during the day, severe cold at night, and a scarcity of food and water. The aspect of the plains of La Mancha, which we had to cross under a burning sun at the hottest season of the year, was desolate in the extreme. The fields, shorn of their golden harvest, were now but a dry desert which seemed to extend illimitably. There were no trees nor any shade for the weary traveller, and it was after a toilsome march of seven days* that the convoy and the army arrived at Albacete.† There we met with

* The following is the route followed by the troops with the King at their head, and by the convoy under his protection :

August 15. The King at Ocaña, the convoy at Villa-Tobos.

„ 16. The King at Lillo, the convoy at Coral d'Almagro.

„ 17. The King at El Toboso, the convoy at La Mota de Cuervo.

„ 18 and 19. Both at Villa-Robledo.

„ 20 and 21. At Roda.

„ 22. At Albacete.

† This is the highest point of the great table-land of La Mancha, whose waters run westward to the Tagus, and the Guadiana and Eastward to the Xucar. No point of separation is perceptible, however, and the maps which indicate a chain of mountains between the two watersheds are incorrect. The wells in the town are over sixty feet in depth.

fresh difficulties. The high road was commanded by the Fortress of Chinchilla, manned by a Spanish garrison. We had neither time nor appliances for besieging it, and the convoy had to make a long round, by almost impassable roads, to escape the range of the enemy's guns. A few volleys were fired at our troops without effect, and they were able to keep pretty continuously to the high road, but the convoy could only regain it at night, and we bivouacked in a little wood, the first we had seen, about a league from Chinchilla. On the following day we reached El Bonete, a little village four leagues from Almanza.

While on our way thither we received news of the Army of Arragon. Marshal Suchet had advanced on the right bank of the Xucar, and had sent forward a detachment to meet us. The hope of speedily effecting a junction with the Army of Arragon sustained us during the most fatiguing day of the whole journey. The village of El Bonete was deserted; all the wells had been filled up, and the scarcity of water was such, that in the convoy as much as a piastre was given for a bottle of muddy water. We left this horrible place at midnight, and reached Almanza* at 6 A.M. on the 28th of August. The town which is

* Almanza, situated at the eastern extremity of the tableland of La Mancha, is famous for Marshal Berwick's victory there on the 15th of April, 1707. The field of battle is to the north of the town. A pyramid has been raised on the spot to commemorate the event.

pretty and well-built, had not been deserted. We found provisions, and a detachment of two hundred horse from the Army of Arragon, so that, from this point, we might consider ourselves in communication with the army, and, consequently, out of danger.

The convoy, with a powerful escort, passed the night at Almanza, but the bulk of the army, and the King and his suite went on at midnight. At a league from the town we began the descent of the Puerto d'Almanza,* and descried the fertile valleys of the kingdom of Valencia. The road is a good one, cut through the mountain at great cost. The defile through which it passes is about half a league in length. It would have been easy for a corps of 12,000 or 13,000 men, which had disembarked at Alicante, during our retreat, to have advanced on our right, and barred the passage; but it would seem that notwithstanding their advantages in attacking us, embarrassed as we were with the enormous convoy in our rear, they did not deem themselves sufficiently strong to venture on placing themselves between us and Marshal Suchet.

* All the table-land of La Mancha may be considered as the summit of a chain of mountains from 300 to 400 toises above the level of the sea. Thus one must necessarily descend in order to reach the valley in which the kingdom of Valencia is situated. This unusual configuration of the soil sufficiently explains the general aridity of La Mancha, and the scarcity of water, especially in summer.

At the mouth of the pass the country opens, and we advanced along a road shaded by carob trees. On either side there were vines laden with their ripe grapes, orange trees covered with fruit and blossom, and groves of lofty palm trees or vast rice-fields, canal-watered gardens, and numerous inhabited villages. Such was the magnificent landscape before us, from the time of entering this happy valley until our arrival at Valencia. To us it seemed additionally beautiful because of its contrast with the melancholy deserts of La Mancha. Through scenes of continual enchantment we passed successively through Moxente, San Felipe (anciently Xativa *), Alcira and

* Xativa (the *Setabis* of the Romans) was famous by its resistance to the troops of Philip V. The inhabitants buried themselves beneath the ruins of their houses. When the town was rebuilt it was deprived of its ancient name, and was obliged to take that of the conqueror. Xativa was partly built on the hill, San Felipe is entirely on the plain. It is remarkable for the number of its fountains and their abundant supply of water. One of these, at a short distance from the Concentayna Gate, has twenty-five spouts, each spout is two inches in diameter. The style of the fountain is not elegant, but its situation, at the foot of a rock on which only a few cypress-trees grow, is admirable. The lower part is planted with lovely weeping-willows and magnificent palm-trees. To our unaccustomed eyes the scene was equally novel and delightful.

Above the fountain is the following inscription :

La Sed apago al Labrador sediente :
Con mis cristales Setabis florece,
Crece el comercio, la labranza crece ;
Poblacion y cosechas acreciense.

Carcagente, famous for its fine orange-groves, until we reached Valencia on the 31st of August. The King made his entry on the same day amid the shouts of the people. The archbishop and the clergy received him at the gates of the town; and the magistrates, preceded by the famous Giants,* presented themselves in a body, offering him the keys. Then the whole procession conducted him to the dais prepared for him in the cathedral, where of course a *Te Deum* was chanted. Thus Joseph, conquered, and a fugitive from his capital, so to speak, was again a King at Valencia. But notwithstanding the honours showered upon him, and which might console him for a moment, he was far from recovering his sovereign authority there. Marshal Suchet yielded no part of the administration, and the Emperor was still the real sovereign of the country. The King and all those Spaniards who had accompanied him from Madrid, as well as the French in his service, were looked upon merely as refugees, and little pains were taken to conceal how unwelcome they were. After a few days' repose, the families of the French who had taken service in Spain, whether in the army or the civil service, were, without exception,

* These figures which are known at Valencia as *Los Gigantes* are puppets of gigantic size. They are kept at the Hotel de Ville, and are only taken from it on the occasions of the entry of kings, the procession of the patron saint of the town and on others of a similar kind.

sent back to France by the Saragossa and Jaca route.* The Spaniards who had accompanied the King, and who did not belong to his household, were dispersed among the neighbouring villages, and were even forbidden to set foot in Valencia. The troops brought by the King were placed in cantonments, and rested from their fatigue, while preparing for the new campaign that was to be opened so soon as the Army of the South should have effected a junction with them.

I have already said that the King, on leaving Segovia, had given positive orders to the Duke of Dalmatia to evacuate Andalusia, and to join the Army of the Centre at the head of all his troops. Toledo had, at first, been named as the spot on which the junction should be effected, as we were still hoping to be able to maintain ourselves in Madrid, until the arrival of the Army of the South. But, the English having forced us to evacuate the capital, further messengers had been despatched to Marshal Soult to inform him of the retreat of the Army of the Centre on Valencia, and to appoint the frontier of that kingdom as the point of junction. The King had no reason to doubt that his commands had reached Seville, and was anxiously waiting to hear they had been executed, when on the 8th of September we learned, in a

* This convoy, which included my wife and daughter, set out on the 10th of September.

singular and unexpected way, the effect that had been produced by the King's orders, and the fashion in which they had been interpreted.

A letter written by Marshal Soult, at the end of August 1811, to the Duke of Feltre, the then Minister of War, had been entrusted to the captain of a vessel sailing from Malaga, who had been obliged to put into harbour at Grao.* The captain, unable to proceed farther, had delivered the packet entrusted to him to Marshal Suchet, who handed it to the King. The latter opened it without hesitation, hoping to find some intelligence concerning the advance of the Duke of Dalmatia, from whom he had received no reply. The letter was in cipher, but as it was a cipher known to all the generals of the armies in Spain, it was easily read, and communicated to Marshal Jourdan and the Duke of Albufera.

The following is an abridgment of the contents: Marshal Soult began by complaining of the difficulties of correspondence, and the dangers of his position. Then he entered on the subject in hand. "All the accounts," he wrote, "that had reached him of the battle of the Arapiles (Salamanca) appeared to him to be exaggerated; he ventured to think that the disaster was not so grave as it had been represented. He complained that the King had not informed him

* The harbour of Valencia is so called. It is half a league from the city.

of his march at the head of 15,000 men to assist the Duke of Ragusa, and that he had only heard of that march on receiving the King's commands to evacuate Andalusia, and advance on Toledo *as the sole remaining means of safety*. He blamed the King's course, and thought he would have done better to wait until the Emperor had ordered the advance of the Spanish Army of the North. He had made propositions to the King,* which had not been accepted; but fearing to incur too great a responsibility if he evaded His Majesty's commands, he intended to obey them, although he looked on the evacuation of Andalusia as a fatal step." Moreover, he accused the King of intending to evacuate Spain at least as far as the Ebro, thereby sacrificing his fairest conquests.

Then the Marshal added that he could not refrain from alluding to other events taking place at the same time.

He had seen in the Cadiz newspapers:

"That the King's ambassador in Russia,† had

* He alludes to his proposal that the King should come to Andalusia and join the Army of the South. The King had declined to do this.

† I never heard that King Joseph had had an ambassador in Russia. There was, I believe, a former chargé d'affaires who remained there. But Russia had an ambassador at Madrid, Baron de Mohrenheim, who accompanied us in our retreat, notwithstanding the war between France and Russia, and I can

thrown out some hints of treating with the insurgent Government at Cadiz.

“That Sweden had entered into a treaty with England.

“That two hundred and fifty Spaniards had been sent to form part of the guard of the Hereditary Prince of Sweden (Bernadotte, the King's brother-in-law).

“That an aide-de-camp of Moreau's had arrived at Cadiz.”

Lastly, the Duke of Dalmatia informed the Minister, that he had confided his misgivings, with which these various circumstances inspired him, to six generals of his army, under oath to reveal them only on command of the Emperor,* for he believed that the

positively affirm that he was never the medium of any secret transactions that, by command of the Emperor, may have been attempted with the Cortes or the Cadiz regency.

* The meeting in question had, in fact, taken place at Seville, at the moment of the departure of the army. A person who was present gave me the following particulars. The Marshal, after receiving the oaths of the assembled officers that they would not divulge what he was about to communicate to them, stated that having resolved on obeying the orders he had received to evacuate Andalusia, he thought it right to inform them of the alarm with which those orders had inspired him. He could not conceal that he regarded this proceeding as a kind of treason towards the Emperor, for, by the withdrawal of the Army of the South, perhaps even to the Ebro, which he suspected was intended, the whole of Spain would be placed in the power of the Cortes and the Regency. That no doubt the King had foreseen the consequences of the step, but that he had persisted

aim of all the unwise measures that were being taken was to force all the French troops to re-cross the Ebro.

He concluded his letter by saying "that he preferred rather to exaggerate his fears than to pass them over, since they referred to subjects so important to the well-being of the Emperor's service."

in it, because it was, in fact, in the interests of a prince who was bent, at all costs, on conciliating the Spaniards, and who intended even to place himself in their hands, hoping that they would preserve his crown to him as a reward for delivering them from the French. "For my part," added the Marshal, "being convinced, as a general, that the whole forces of the English could not drive out the Army of the South, and equally convinced, as the faithful subject of the Emperor, that it was to his advantage to retain that wealthy province, I made every possible effort to withstand a decision so contrary to his interests. With this view I even proposed to the King to come into Andalusia, and unite his forces to mine. My efforts were made in vain, and my proposals were declined. It now only remains for me to obey, and I should have done so in silence, if the fears I have just laid before you were the outcome of my own observation only. But they are confirmed by the reports I receive from Cadiz, which speak of negotiations between the King and the Cortes. As these reports may be known to you, I have thought it my duty to inform the Duke of Feltre of the state of affairs, and also to communicate them to the chiefs of the army. I trust this statement will prove to you that in carrying out the reiterated and absolute orders of the commander-in-chief of all the French troops in Spain, I am, at least, neither the instrument of designs which he may have formed as King, nor willing to serve those designs."

This speech is too similar to the letter intercepted at Valencia for any doubt to remain as to the truthfulness of the narrative of my informant, such as I have just given it.

This letter was a formal accusation of the King. It lent a false colouring to his orders for the evacuation of Andalusia, by connecting them with various extraneous circumstances which might give them a suspicious appearance in the Emperor's mind. It greatly incensed the King, who resolved on forwarding a copy to his brother, together with an explanatory statement of his conduct and motives. The memorandum contained an accurate account of the recent events in Spain, and described the insubordination of the generals and its fatal effects. Colonel Desprez, the King's aide-de-camp, was commissioned to carry the letter and the memorandum to the Emperor, and to make all necessary explanations verbally. No one could be better adapted, by natural ability, by knowledge of the facts, and by sound judgment, to fulfil this delicate task, but he only reached the Emperor at Moscow, where he was already involved in difficulties of all kinds. The interests of Spain were necessarily merged in the crisis, then engrossing all the Emperor's thoughts. Therefore, even if Colonel Desprez obtained a hearing, the impression he produced was soon effaced, and the marks of favour that the Emperor continued to bestow on the Duke of Dalmatia and the Duke of Rugusa, the confidence he never ceased to repose in them, have since proved that the King's complaints were soon forgotten. The importance to the Emperor of the

military ability and great experience of the former of the two Marshals may justify his partiality towards him ; and, moreover, an excess of zeal was not displeasing. But that partiality is more difficult to understand in the case of the latter, by whom it was so ill deserved, and so ungratefully requited.

Three days before Colonel Desprez' departure—he set out on the 15th of September—letters arrived from Marshal Soult announcing his determination to carry out the King's commands, and the steps he was taking for the evacuation of Andalusia. Other letters followed, informing us of the march of the Army of the South. On this the King left Valencia on the 22nd of September and established himself at Moxcute,* and San-Felipe, in order to be within easier reach of the Duke of Dalmatia. At last, on the 2nd of October, we learned that he had arrived with his army at Fuente de Higuera, whither the King proceeded on the 3rd, for the purpose of conferring with him. In accordance with resolutions made at the conference, at which Marshal Jourdan was present, the King, as soon as he had returned to San-Felipe, despatched General Lucotte to the Army of Portugal, with orders that it should advance to the Douro ; and cross the river, so as to effect a junction with the Armies of the South and of the Centre. These latter were about to advance towards the Tagus, so as to force the English to

* Situated at the extremity of the kingdom of Valencia.

evacuate Madrid, and to retreat over the Sierra de Guadarrama, beyond which it was intended to pursue them. According to this plan of campaign, the Army of the South was to take the high road from Valencia to Madrid through Albacete, and the Army of the Centre would take the road from Valencia to Cuença through Requeña; the two armies were to unite at Ocaña.

These plans being settled, we returned to Valencia, where we remained for some days, preparing for our departure, and waiting for news of Marshal Soult, whose march we were to follow. So soon as we heard that he had begun to move, the headquarters of the Army of the South left Valencia,* on

* During a six weeks' stay in the kingdom of Valencia, I made several very pleasant excursions. I visited the environs of the town, and went to Murviedro, anciently Sagonte, where I saw the remains of an ancient Roman theatre. I saw the magnificent gardens of the Archbishop of Valencia's country house at Puzol, where the rarest plants are grown in the open air. I also examined the fine reservoirs constructed by the Moors, the water from which irrigates the valley, where they maintain a perpetual verdure and great fertility. But it would take too long to relate all my excursions. Besides, every kind of information concerning the kingdom of Valencia may be found in Cavanilles' work entitled '*Observaciones sobre la historia naturale, geografia, agricultura, poblacion y frutos del reyno de Valencia*,' printed at the Royal Printing House at Madrid in 1795, in two vols. in folio. As for the town of Valencia itself—its monuments and its Alameda, formerly so famous for the splendid palm-trees that were destroyed during the siege, have been described by every traveller.

the 16th of October, and proceeded by way of Bunol, Requena, Villagordo, the Bridge of Pagaso, by which we crossed the Cabriel,* Pesquera, Almodovar de la Peña and Solara. During our progress, and before reaching Cuença, where we arrived on the 23rd of October, we were joined by General Begarré returning from Paris, whither he had been sent by the King. He brought us bulletins from the Grand Army, containing details of the battle of the Moskowa, of the Emperor's entry into Moscow, and, lastly, of the terrible destruction of the ancient capital of Russia by fire. These accounts were received by our army as good news of victories, which, although dearly bought, would add to the lustre of our arms. We were far indeed from foreseeing their fatal consequences.

The army, after two days' rest at Cuença,† marched

* This river rises in the mountain of San-Felipe, not far from Cuença, and empties itself on the borders of the kingdom of Valencia into the Xucar, whose source is in the same mountain.

† Cuença, the chief town of the province of the same name, is built on the site of a very steep hill, and backed by two high mountains. The general appearance of the site has some resemblance to a shell, whence the town is called Cuença (*concha*). The Guecar, which falls into the Xucar, runs below the town through a deep ravine, spanned by a boldly-designed bridge, which is said to have been built from the design of a canon of Cuença. The cathedral, which is very ancient, is of Gothic architecture. Near the high altar is an inscription in

on the 26th of October for Tarançon where we arrived on the 27th. On the 28th we reached Ocaña, where we found the Duke of Dalmatia, and the Army of the South. His advanced guard had already crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez.

Before narrating the military movements which ensued, I must give some account of what was going on in the meantime, among the English and their allies.

Wellington having remained inactive at Madrid, during the retreat of the French, prolonged his stay in the capital until the 1st of September. He then put himself at the head of the Allied Army in the neighbourhood of Arevalo, having General Hill's Corps in his rear. This corps had withdrawn from Estramadura, after Marshal Soult's evacuation of Andalusia, and was occupying the passage of the Tagus between Toledo and Aranjuez.

Wellington left Arevalo on the 4th of September, crossed the Douro on the 6th, and entered Valladolid, pursuing the retreating Army of Portugal beyond the Pisuerga. On the 17th, the Allied Army, which had been joined on the preceding day by three divisions

Gothic letters, giving the date at which Cuença passed under the rule of the kings of Castille.

El Rey don Alonzo IX.
 Gant a Cuença, et Miercoles,
 Dia de San Mateo, XXI de Septiembre,
 Año de Nuestro Señor MCLXXVII.

of infantry and a corps of Galician cavalry under General Castanos appeared before Burgos, and obliged the French army to evacuate the town and withdraw to Monasterio de Rodilla et Brivierca leaving a garrison of 1500 men in the citadel of Burgos.*

This long-abandoned fortress had been hastily repaired, and surrounded by earth-works, which formed a kind of entrenched camp around the walls. The works, which were very insufficient, were not even finished when the enemy appeared. But an intrepid soldiery, and their courageous, skilful and honourable commandant, General Dubreton, converted these slight defences into an impregnable fort, and all the endeavours of the allies failed before their splendid and unexpected defence. In a word, this fortress—if we may so call the Citadel of Burgos—which seemed unable to hold out more than a few days, arrested the march and foiled the plans of a victorious army. Lord Wellington, who understood all the importance of the place, neglected no means of securing it, and was prodigal of the blood of the soldiers—of which English generals are generally so sparing—in numberless attacks and assaults. But they were driven back on all sides, and lost, by their own reckoning, more than 4000 men in the breaches and at the palisades.

While the English army was making these fruit-

* It was about this time that Wellington was appointed by the Cortes Generalissimo of the Spanish armies.

less efforts and while its chief was perhaps beginning to appreciate the value of the time he had lost in Madrid, the French were preparing to advance. Marshal Massena, who, in the absence of the Emperor, had been appointed by the Duke of Feltre to supersede Marshal Marmont in the command of the Army of Portugal, was on his way to Bayonne, and was hastening the arrival of the reinforcements intended for him. He did not, however, take command of the army, but, after a short stay at Bayonne, returned to Paris on the plea of ill-health. His departure caused no delay in our operations, and the army had scarcely passed under the provisional command of General Souham, the oldest of the Generals of Division, than he heard of the advance of the King and Marshal Soult, and immediately resumed the offensive.

In consequence of the movements of the French, Lord Wellington found himself between two armies, advancing upon him from opposite directions. He was much stronger than either of them taken separately, and might, therefore, defeat each singly. The Army of Portugal having left the banks of the Ebro, appeared in the neighbourhood of Burgos on the 10th of October.

At this time the King was still at a distance of more than ten days' march from the Tagus. The English had therefore ample time to defeat him, and

drive the Army of Portugal back to the Ebro. The Citadel of Burgos, notwithstanding its brave defence, could not make a permanent resistance, and nothing would then prevent the allies from marching on the Tagus, and there defeating the troops from Valencia and Andalusia. But this, the most dashing and decisive step, was also the most hazardous, and could not be combined with Lord Wellington's methodical and cautious strategy. The siege of Burgos was therefore raised at nightfall on the 21st of October, after an investment of thirty-five days, and the Allied Army fell back successively on the Carrion, the Pisuerga, and, finally, on the 29th of October, behind the Douro as far as Salamanca, where a junction was effected with General Hill, who on our approach had evacuated Madrid and retired over the Sierra de Guadarrama.*

On the 31st of October, the advanced guards of the united armies of the South and the Centre crossed the

* As they retreated, the English soldiery devastated the country through which they passed, and whose defence they relinquished. Their excesses were so great that Lord Wellington, in a proclamation addressed to his army (see 'Annual Register,' 1812, p. 158), "reproached it with a want of discipline exceeding anything he had ever seen in the armies in which he had served, and even anything he had ever heard of." I do not quote these words of the English general in order to justify similar conduct on the part of the French in the same country, but only to prove that the English had no right to reproach them with it.

Tagus at Aranjuez, and on the 2nd of November the King re-entered Madrid. A new and hastily-formed municipal body received him, and, in a greatly embarrassed speech, endeavoured to excuse the inhabitants, by pleading the disasters of the times, and entreated the royal clemency. Nor was that clemency asked in vain ; no severity was exercised, and no informers were listened to. The King, however, only remained one day at Madrid, and set out again on the 4th of November. We crossed the Guadarrama on the same night, and on the 6th we reached Arevalo, where we received the first direct intelligence from the Army of Portugal, whose advance had been delayed by the necessity of reconstructing the bridges destroyed by the English in their retreat.

From Arevalo, where we remained a day, waiting for the advance of the Army of Portugal, the King proceeded to Peña-Aranda, where the junction of the three Armies of the South, of Portugal, and of the Centre was effected. The latter, which, according to first arrangements, was to remain and defend the capital, had been ordered to leave Madrid, so as to collect all our available forces in one spot, and increase our chances of success if, as was hoped, we could draw the English into a general engagement.*

* Madrid having been completely evacuated, the Army of the Centre was followed by a crowd of persons of both sexes, who dared not remain in the city after the departure of the French.

Thus, on the 10th of November, the King found himself at the head of nearly 100,000 men on the right bank of the Tormes. But these 100,000 men were unequally divided among the three armies. That of the South numbered 60,000 men. The Army of Portugal 25,000, and the Army of the Centre only 12,000. The latter had been long under the personal command of the King, but as the command-in-chief had devolved upon him, he considered that he should retain no other, and handed over the command of the Army of the Centre to Marshal Soult, who was thus at the head of two armies. That of Portugal had, since it left Burgos, been under General Souham; he gave the command of it to Count d'Erlon, who had hitherto served in the Army of the South. The King hoped that there would be a better understanding, and greater unanimity, between d'Erlon and the Duke of Dalmatia, than there had been between the Duke and General Souham, but the latter felt the slight keenly on the eve of an expected battle. On the other hand, Marshal Soult, in open opposition to the King for the last six months, and perfectly well aware that he owed the mark of confidence, just bestowed on him, only to the necessity for his talents and his influence with the troops, was not greatly disposed to act as the instrument of another's glory.

These arrangements, whether well or ill-conceived, were carried out, and preparations were made to

attack the English. We learned that they had taken up a position on the left bank of the Tormes on the plain of the Arapiles, where Marshal Marmont had been defeated five months previously. On the right bank they had left a corps occupying Alba de Tormes. We had at first debated whether we should cross the river at Alba itself, forcing our passage in the face of the English, but this plan, proposed by Marshal Jourdan, was rejected as being too hazardous, and we resolved on turning the enemy's position by crossing the Tormes four or five leagues above Salamanca, so as to fall on the rear of the English. The King left Peña-Aranda on the 13th of November and passed the night at Val de Carros. On the same day the Duke of Dalmatia, advancing along the banks of the Tormes, came opposite La Maya, and on the 14th, at the head of the Armies of the South and of the Centre, effected the passage of the river. Meanwhile Count d'Erlon was moving upon the latter town, which the English abandoned on his approach, so as to cross to the left bank of the Tormes. The Royal Guard and the Reserve, with which I had placed myself, followed the movements of the King, and we crossed the river at noon opposite Galisancho. We bivouacked for the night behind Mozarbès in a wood of green oaks of that kind whose acorns are edible (*Quercus edulis*). They served partly for our soldiers' rations. The King's head-

quarters were at the Montehano Farm, a league from Mozarbès. During the evening active fire was kept up by the enemy on our reconnoitring parties, but no serious engagement ensued.

On the 15th of November, in the morning, the armies were face to face. Never, since the opening of the war in Spain, had more numerous forces appeared on the same battle-field. The Allied Army numbered 90,000 men,* and the French, as we have already seen, 97,000. We were therefore superior to our enemy in strength, especially in cavalry. Early in the morning, the King left the Montehano Farm, and advanced towards the Hermitage of Nuestra-Señora de Utera. Great events were expected, but that day, on which a general and decisive engagement seemed imminent, was passed by the French in manœuvres and partial movements that led to nothing. It was thought best to delay our attack until the troops of the Army of Portugal, who had not been able to cross the river at Alba until very late on the pre-

* The following, according to an official statement made to me at Salamanca, is a list of the troops under Lord Wellington's command :

English	.	.	.	.	.	22 to 23,000 men
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	18 „ 20,000 „
Galicians, brought by Castaños	.					9 „ 10,000 „
General Hill's corps	.	.	.	.	.	20 „ 21,000 „
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	17 „ 18,000 „

Total						86 to 92,000 men

ceding day, should have arrived on the field, and they only came up at noon. The Duke of Dalmatia then made a flank movement on his left with all his forces, with the intention of cutting off the road from Salamanca to Ciudad-Rodrigo; but this movement was begun too late to be successful. The morning had been passed in fortifying the heights occupied by the French, which the English made a feint of attacking, to mask their retreat. Precious time was wasted, the opportunity was allowed to pass by, and Lord Wellington, who had only intended to avoid a battle, drew off his numerous army in the direction of Tamanés, in the face of the French, who offered no obstacle. Heavy rain, falling all day, was in favour of his retreat. The allies took advantage of the night to quicken their march. They were followed for some days by Marshal Soult, but he soon gave up the useless pursuit. Finally, the enemy fell back altogether on the frontiers of Portugal. They had, however, lost a considerable number of prisoners taken by the French on the rear of the Allied Army, and had sustained great losses in baggage and transport trains owing to the bad state of the roads.

Count d'Erlon entered Salamanca at the head of the Army of Portugal, on the evening of the 15th of November, and on the next day the King fixed his

* Situated half way between Salamanca and Ciudad-Rodrigo.

headquarters in that city. Thus ended the campaign so long prepared, so well conducted, until the critical moment, and from which so different a result had been expected. "Was this," we asked each other, "all that the collecting together of such forces was to produce? How did the Allied Armies, whom we had almost surprised in an unfavourable position, contrive to escape us? How was it that the French, after crossing the Tormes, did not instantly occupy the road from Salamanca to Tamanés so as to cut off the retreat of the English? How was it that we did not attack on the morning of the 15th, without waiting for the arrival of the Army of Portugal? Why did not Marshal Soult and his troops commence and sustain the battle, until Count d'Erlon had come up with his columns, which were only a league and a half from the field? Was it timidity, uncertainty, or want of good will that delayed the attack?" Such were the questions that occurred to every one after the events of the 15th of November. What had become of the activity and the boldness of our troops? What spell had been laid upon them? It was melancholy to think that personal resentment, and fatal misunderstandings, had probably robbed the French of the glory of avenging a recent defeat on the very spot on which they had incurred it, and yet we were almost forced to this conclusion. Our army was numerous, the enemy inferior in strength; our chiefs

were able and experienced, our soldiers willing. How could victory have been doubtful, if the will to conquer had equalled the means?

We remained but a few days at Salamanca. So soon as we knew for certain that the Allied Army had crossed the Agueda, re-entered Portugal, and once more left Spain to her fate, the King began to think of returning to Madrid, and cantonments were assigned to the three armies.

The Army of the South was ordered to occupy the provinces of Avila, Plasencia, and part of Toledo and La Mancha. Headquarters at Toledo.

The Army of Portugal, was to occupy the provinces of Salamanca, Zamora, Valladolid and Burgos, as far as the boundaries of the Army of the North. Headquarters at Valladolid.

The Army of the Centre was to occupy the provinces of Segovia, Guadalacara, Madrid, Cuença and those parts of the provinces of Toledo and La Mancha not occupied by the Army of the South. Headquarters at Madrid.

These arrangements once made, there was nothing to detain the King at Salamanca.* He left that city on the 23rd of November in extremely cold weather, quite unprecedented in Spain at that season of the

* The city of Salamanca, which I had sufficient leisure to explore thoroughly, contains many fine buildings. The cathedral, the Jesuits' College, and the University are the most remark-

year.* We passed through Peña-Aranda, Madrigal,† Arevalo, where we stayed three days, and Villacastin, and after crossing the Puerto de Guadarama on the 2nd ‡ of December we arrived the same

able. Above the entrance gate of the University is the following inscription, dating from the days of Ferdinand and Isabella ;

ΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΕΔΕΙΑ.
ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣΙ.

The Plaza Mayor is very handsome. It is surrounded with porticos, above which are three storeyed houses of fair architecture. Over the spring of the arches is a series of stone medallions containing portraits of the kings of Spain and of the great men of the nation. Among the latter are those of the Cid, Gonzalez de Cordova, Cristoval Colon (Columbus), Francisco Pizarro, Fernando de Toledo, Antonio de Leyva, and others. A great number of ancient buildings had been greatly injured by the construction of the Duke of Ragusa's fort on the Tormes, at the end of the bridge leading to the town. This part of the town was a heap of ruins.

* Before leaving Salamanca, the King sent General Bigarré to Paris, with a memorandum to the Emperor dated the 21st of November, recounting recent events. In this memorandum he pointed out the mistakes into which Marshal Soult had fallen, at the time of the proposed attack on the English at the Arapiles on the 14th, mistakes which saved them from utter defeat. He added that Marshal Jourdan had advised the crossing of the Tormes at Alba, *in the face of the enemy*.

† The little town of Madrigal was formerly the abode of the kings of Castile, but it retains no traces of its ancient splendour. It is the birthplace of the famous impostor Pasteleca, who pretended to be Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, who was killed in Africa in battle with the Moors.

‡ We suffered greatly from cold on the mountain, without meeting, however, with any serious accident. But a few days

evening at Madrid. After the departure of the Army of the Centre, the guerilla chief l'Empecinado had occupied the town ; but he left it on the approach of the troops that preceded us.

For the third time,* after being alternately obliged to leave Madrid, and then enabled through the chances of war to return thither, we were entering the capital, but it was for no long stay ; we were destined soon to leave Madrid for ever.

after our passage, some troops from Segovia, under Count d'Erlon, were surprised on the Puerto de Guadarrama by a sudden storm and lost nearly a hundred men.

* Once in 1808, and twice in 1812.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Painful impression made on the French in Madrid by the accounts received of the Grand Army in Russia—Results of those disasters on Spanish affairs—The Army of the South is concentrated on the Douro—The King, accompanied by his guard, removes to Valladolid—The forces under the King's command are reduced by more than one-third, owing to the recall of a great number of subalterns and veteran soldiers to France, and to the detachment of a corps commanded by General Clausel, to act against Mina—Lord Wellington appointed generalissimo of all the Spanish armies by the Cortes—Evacuation of Madrid—The English general commences his operations at the head of 100,000 men, and arrives on the Tormes on the 26th of May—The French fall back on Burgos, and are pursued by the enemy—The King orders the citadel of Burgos to be blown up, a considerable number of French soldiers losing their lives by the explosion—The King's army reaches the passes of Pancorvo on the 15th of June—Dissension in the King's council of war as to whether we shall or shall not defend the defiles—The French fall back on the Ebro—The English having crossed the river, the French take to flight, and take up a position on the Zadora, before Vittoria, on the 19th of June—The opportunity of retreating to the Salinas Pass behind Vittoria having been missed, the King is obliged to meet the enemy—Position of the army on the morning of the 21st—The battle commences, and the French, after an obstinate resistance, are forced from their first, and

shortly afterwards from their second position—The high road to France being held by the enemy, we retreat towards Salvatierra—The English hussars turn our retreat into a rout, and we reach Salvatierra in the evening—We continue to retreat, the Army of Portugal forming our rear-guard—The King, with the Armies of the South and Centre, reaches Pampeluna on the 23rd—Having rejoined the Army of Portugal, he crosses the Bidassoa on the 28th of June, and fixes his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz—The author is ordered on a mission to the Emperor in Germany, and sets out for Vichy, where he intends to see Queen Julia on his way through—The Queen persuades him not to persist in his journey to Dresden, and retracing his steps he joins the King near Bayonne—Joseph establishes himself with his suite at the Chateau de Poyanne, but at the expiration of a week receives permission to reside at Morfontaine, where he arrives with the author on the 30th of July, 1813.

SCARCELY had we returned to Madrid after the fruitless campaign of Salamanca, when news from Paris filled us with alarm and anxiety. The bulletins from the Grand Army in Russia announced that it was in full retreat, and although we could not as yet divine the disasters of that fatal retreat, the style of the bulletins was so far from reassuring, that those among us who felt the greatest confidence in the ability and genius of the Emperor began to feel alarmed. On the other hand, the events that had taken place during the Emperor's absence, General Mallet's conspiracy, which had brought the political existence of the Government within an ace of ruin, the absurd conduct of the persons in authority during the momentary crisis, and the unusual procedure

by which the General and his accomplices had been condemned; seemed to announce a state of weakness and internal convulsion, which our reverses abroad made still more dangerous and formidable. Finally, the comments of the French Gazettes on the military operations that had taken place in Spain within the last three months, were all written in a spirit adverse to the King. In their accounts of the movements of our armies they preserved a studied silence in his regard, while the highest praise was lavished on the Duke of Dalmatia, thereby proving that the King's complaints of his conduct had received no attention.

In this state of disquiet, in this painful expectation of a gloomy future, the last days of 1812 passed slowly away. Madrid was dull, the palace was deserted; discouragement and discontent were evident everywhere. Marshal Jourdan was invalided, and had handed over his command to General d'Aulannes; discipline was becoming more and more lax. The King's temper, embittered by so many causes, was greatly altered; the difficulties into which his private affairs were thrown by the exhaustion of his finances, forced him to steps, which as they interfered with the interests of numerous persons, daily diminished the number of his adherents. In order to set him free to adopt more economical arrangements, I gave up, of my own accord, the post of superintendent-general of the household, which I

had hitherto filled. I was therefore without any administrative duties; and I remained with him from motives of friendship and affection only.

The year 1813 opened under these melancholy auspices, and in a very short time the particulars conveyed by the celebrated Bulletin No. 29, and which were circulated in Spain even before we had received them,* dispelled all doubt as to the disasters of our army in Russia. They were moreover confirmed, and if possible, aggravated, by a letter from Colonel Desprez, who, on returning from Moscow, wrote to the King that "imagination could not reach to the reality of our reverses " that, in one word "*the army was dead.*"

When the first shock produced by this terrible ending to a gigantic enterprise had partially worn off, we asked ourselves what would be its effect on our situation in Spain. It was evident, to begin with, that we could no longer look for help from France, and next, that the enemy, daily strengthened by fresh reinforcements, would hasten to profit by so favourable an opportunity of attacking us. It was useless to think of defending the Tagus or of retaining possession of the capital, and it was urgent

* The bulletin only reached us at Madrid on the 16th of January, although on the 31st of December it had been received at Vittoria and Burgos, whence it had spread into Portugal and to Cadiz.

to hasten the concentration of our forces on the Douro, to prevent the enemy from crossing, if possible. But notwithstanding the urgent necessity of coming to a decision, we remained in suspense, awaiting the Emperor's commands. He was already beginning to recall all the flower of the Army from Spain, to recruit the Imperial Guard. Whole cadres of regiments were being sent off, to be filled up by the extraordinary conscription then being raised in France. At the same time also, he was summoning the generals on whom he believed most reliance could be placed, or whose ability was known to and needed by him. The Duke of Dalmatia was among the number. He passed through Madrid on the 2nd of March taking with him a large number of waggons, laden with valuables which he had brought from Andalusia. After seeing the King for a moment, he continued his journey to Paris. Nothing could be less like disgrace than his manner of progress, and in fact, it was not in disgrace that he was recalled from Spain.

The Emperor's orders having at length reached us, the troops belonging to the Army of the South, which since the departure of Marshal Soult had been commanded by General Gazan, began to be massed, early in March, on both banks of the Douro, one division remaining as an advanced guard at Salamanca. The King resolved on removing to Valladolid.

the headquarters of the Army of Portugal under General Reille. He left Madrid on the 17th of March attended by his Guard; but the Army of the Centre remained in the capital and its environs, under Count d'Erlon, who had assumed the command when he gave up that of the Army of Portugal. We had thus, as the reader sees, pretty well abandoned the whole country lying between the Tagus and the Douro. On the former we retained only the post of Aranjuez, garrisoned by the Army of the Centre, and even this was to be evacuated so soon as the army, which was only provisionally occupying Madrid should have withdrawn, to join those of the South and of Portugal, if the enemy's movements rendered the junction of all our forces necessary.

The French were therefore remaining on the defensive; but their strength was ever being lessened by the numerous detachments the Emperor continued to draw from Spain, to reinforce his northern armies and especially to form a nucleus for the new regiments he was raising in France. Those, therefore, which remained in Spain were not only numerically weakened, but injured by the removal of non-commissioned officers and veteran soldiers. The forces at our disposal to oppose the enemy, were yet further reduced by direct orders from the Emperor in view of a special object. He gave General Clausel the command of an indepen-

dent corps of 10,000 men, drawn from the Armies of the North and Portugal, with orders to place himself at their head, in pursuit of Mina, who at that time was ravaging Navarre and Biscay, levying taxes, and almost absolute master of those two provinces.* From all the above causes, the three armies of the South, the Centre and Portugal, which, as I have already said, formed a total of nearly 100,000 soldiers, were reduced in the month of May to 55,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry under the immediate command of the King, Marshal Jourdan being his Major-General.

During the early part of 1813, the English, who had returned to Portugal after their retreat from Salamanca, made no movement, and as we were not able to act on the offensive, our stay at Valladolid, where the King arrived on the 23rd of March, lasted over two months. During that time Joseph again entertained some delusive hopes, to which the inaction of the enemy contributed. They arose thus: from intelligence we received from Cadiz, we learned that Lord Wellington had arrived in that town; that the Cortes and the Regency had conferred upon him the command-in-chief of all the Spanish armies and the title of Generalissimo; that this had offended the

* General Clausel left Vittoria at the head of the corps on the 11th of April, 1813, and was victorious wherever he met with the enemy, but he had not time to complete his task.

Spanish generals; that among others, Ballesteros, who possessed great influence over the troops, had refused to recognise the authority of the English Generalissimo, and that the Government had been under the necessity of dismissing and even exiling Ballesteros. While these internal dissensions were breaking out at Cadiz, several Guerilla Corps stationed in La Mancha, dissatisfied by the treatment shown to Ballesteros, had hinted that they would be disposed to come to terms with the King's Government, if certain advantages were promised them. On hearing this, General Virnès, the King's aide-de-camp, had been sent to treat with them. But the hopes that had been too easily entertained were soon dispelled.* Lord Wellington had returned to the army after a temporary absence, and in the middle of May, he commenced operations. At the first report of his movements, the evacuation of Madrid was resolved on, and the Army of the Centre received orders to quit the capital and its environs, and join the headquarters of the King at Valladolid. A convoy was also despatched to France, consisting of the sick, of convalescents, and of many persons attached to the government or to the army, whose presence would have added to our difficulties in the approaching campaign. Among them was Count

* General Virnès got no farther than Madrid: the movements of the enemy hindered him from advancing farther.

de Laforêt. We saw him depart without regret; he had contributed in no small degree to augment the difficulties of our position, by the ignorance in which he had left the Emperor respecting the real condition of Spain.

The Allied Army under Lord Wellington reached the Tormes on the 26th of May, and entered Salamanca on the same day. General Villate's Corps left the city after sustaining some loss. Lord Wellington's forces consisted of the English troops, of a Portuguese corps, and of the Fourth Corps of the Spanish army. They were estimated at 100,000 men.

On the 28th of May, the news of the advance of this immense army between the Tormes and the Douro reached Valladolid, and we made all preparations for departure. But the Army of the Centre had not yet joined us, and we could not begin our march without it, nor without the numerous convoy of French and Spaniards who were leaving Madrid, and who would have certainly perished, had we forsaken them. They joined us at last on the 1st of June, and our march was fixed for the following day.

At three o'clock in the morning, the convoy from Madrid, and another that had assembled at Valladolid, crossed the Pisuerga, and the army followed in the course of the day. The King and his immediate suite set out at 4 P.M. and the bridge was destroyed after the rear-guard had passed. The entire army

advanced towards Burgos and reached the Arlanza on the 9th of June. The enemy, who had crossed the Douro and the Pisuerga in pursuit, began to press on us. We, nevertheless, halted three days at Burgos, partly in order that the convoy which impeded our march should get clear of us and advance on the road to Vittoria, and partly to reconnoitre certain positions in which we had at first thought of awaiting the enemy, and trying our chance in a battle. But the manœuvres of the English, who, by bearing on our right flank seemed to seek rather to turn our positions than to attack us, and still more the indecision caused by diversity of opinion among our generals as to the course we ought to pursue, made the King resolve on crossing the Arlanza, and on evacuating Burgos without resistance.* He therefore left the city on the morning of the 13th of June, after giving orders to blow up the fort, whose memorable defence had stayed the advance of the English in the preceding year, but which had neither been repaired nor even kept up since then. The explosion was terrible, and fatal to the troops which were in the act of passing through the town. From 150 to 200 French soldiers were killed or wounded by the bursting of shells that had been buried inside the fort, to make

* A slight engagement only took place on the evening of the 12th of June, at Buniel Bridge, two leagues south of Burgos, after a reconnaissance of the spot by the enemy.

up for the insufficiency of the mining, which there had not been time to carry out completely. The device succeeded, but cost its promoters dear. Some houses in the town were injured, but none of the inhabitants were hurt, the streets being empty when the explosion took place, at six A.M.

We continued to retreat for three days, through Villa-del-Peon, Briviesca and Pancorvo, where we arrived on the 15th of June, without being disturbed by the enemy who were taking another road through Santivanes.

From the time of our leaving Valladolid until our arrival at Pancorvo, there had been great division in the King's Council. Some few, such as Count Gazan and Count d'Erlou, were openly in favour of waiting for the enemy as the more honourable course. The King was easily won over to their opinion, for he dreaded to be accused of avoiding a battle, and would willingly have adopted the more hazardous alternative, so that he might avoid any appearance of weakness. We halted at Burgos, but the idea of holding the place was soon given up. When we reached the defiles of Pancorvo, similar irresolution was manifested. Those who had advised fighting at Burgos, advised it now in these passes, where they considered the advantage of the ground would more than compensate for our numerical inferiority.*

* The Pancorvo Pass is situated on the borders of Old Castille,

They urged that Wellington would never entangle himself in mountain passes beyond the Ebro ; that at most he would send forward a few Corps of Spanish troops ; and would himself remain stationary with his best troops. They went so far as to say that perhaps he would cross the Ebro with his army for money, but for nothing less. Those Generals who were of an opposite opinion, with Marshal Jourdan at their head, persisted that the enemy would, on the contrary, never dream of attacking us in such a formidable position ; that he would indubitably cross the Ebro above Miranda, and that if we loitered at Pancorvo, we should give him time to take possession of the high road to Vittoria, and consequently of our line of communication with France. "In short," said Marshal Jourdan, "if we are to fight, it should only be in such a position, as to maintain our communications with France and the possibility of our retreat thither."

We left Pancorvo and its passes, inefficient barriers, for they could be easily turned, and we fell back on the Ebro. The Army of the South, forming our

about two leagues to the south of Miranda da Ebro. It lies between two steep mountains for the space of half a league ; a stream runs at the bottom. The summit of the mountain to the left of the stream is occupied by the impregnable fortress of Santa-Maria-en-Gracia. We left a small garrison, which wanting provisions and unable to obtain help, surrendered shortly after the battle of Vittoria.

rear-guard, remained on the road from Pancorvo to Vittoria; the Army of the Centre occupied Haro, and the Army of Portugal, Puente-Laza and Espejo, to observe the enemy and the forces he might throw across the Ebro. We took up these various positions on the 15th and 16th of June, and thus the whole French army was occupying the Ebro, from Espejo on its right extremity, to Haro on its extreme left, a distance of about eight leagues along the banks of the Ebro. The King fixed his headquarters at Miranda da Ebro. Fresh reverses had recalled him to the same town where I had joined him five years before, after the lost battle of Baylen, and the consequent evacuation of Madrid. But the danger was more pressing now than 1808, and our resources were not so great.

During our march towards the Ebro, the hostile forces, continuing their movement on our right, crossed the river on the 14th and 15th of June by the bridges at St. Martin and Rocamunda. Then, coming down by the left bank, they advanced on Espejo, whence the Army of Portugal, too weak for resistance, was obliged to withdraw with loss. This attack, made by three English divisions, and which showed that the whole of the hostile army had crossed the Ebro, made us hastily abandon both banks of the river, fearing that we should be cut off from the high road from Miranda to Vittoria. Orders were issued for the whole army to assemble at

Puebla de Arlanzon.* After crossing the Zadora†, our troops took up their position on the evening of the 19th of June, on the heights commanding the river, about a league in advance of Vittoria, on either side of the high road, the greater proportion being however on the right.‡ The King passed the night at Vittoria.

When taking up these positions, we had not yet made up our mind to await and encounter the enemy. Many of the King's advisers recommended the evacuation of Vittoria and an advance in the rear of the town to the pass of Salinas, an excellent position that could not be turned, and in which we could either decline the combat or engage with the enemy as we chose. These persons represented to the King that the army now under his command, had

* A village half-way between Miranda and Vittoria, having a bridge over the Zadora.

† This small river runs in the environs of Vittoria, afterwards watering a very narrow valley near Puebla de Arlanzon, and falls into the Ebro below Arce-Mira-Perez. It is fordable in very many places, especially in summer.

‡ This difficult manoeuvre had been ably effected by Marshal Jourdan. In one day, the whole army, which extended, as has been seen, over eight leagues of country, had to be collected together, in the face of an enemy whose superior forces might reach the road from Puebla de Arlanzon to Vittoria before us. The movement was perfectly successful; a corps belonging to the Army of Portugal was detached on our left, and followed a parallel route through the mountains to that taken by the bulk of the army, and during the whole day, the 19th of June, prevented the enemy from approaching the high road.

become, after our reverses in the North, the hope of France; that a lost battle would open our most defenceless frontier, and expose a rich country, which having for more than a century believed itself safe from any foreign invasion, was incapable of repelling that with which it would be threatened; lastly, that the consequences of a defeat, which would point out to our enemies a new road to the heart of our country, were incalculable.

To this it was replied, by arguments based on one consideration only, that the army would be dishonoured by leaving Spain without having encountered the enemy, and that the Emperor would never forgive us for abandoning his conquest without having defended it to the last extremity. It was added that to leave Vittoria was to betray General Clausel, who had been ordered to fall back on Vittoria, and whose corps, no longer finding the army under the walls of the town would be endangered and perhaps destroyed.* But those who

* It has already been seen that the Corps in question, consisting of 10,000 men, had been despatched against Mina by direct command of the Emperor. It was then in Navarre at two days' march from Vittoria, and only appeared in the neighbourhood of the town on the 22nd of June, the day after the battle. So soon as General Clausel heard of the defeat he fell back hastily on the Guardia and on Tudela da Ebro, and contrived to join the army of Aragon, with which he subsequently returned to France.

made use of this argument, the only one of any weight, did not reflect that the enemy would certainly not delay their attack while we waited for General Clausel's return, and that in the event of our defeat, his corps would incur greater danger than by our retreat.

Nevertheless, a great number of our generals were in favour of not abandoning Spain without fighting for it. All our young officers were of the same opinion, and sarcasms and jests were showered on the prudence of the opposing party ; prudence which was called by another name.

In order to silence opposition of this kind, a great and recognised authority was needed at headquarters. I have already explained how and why Marshal Jourdan lacked such authority, although his ability, experience, and personal courage were uncontested. The King lacked it still more. Thus, strange to say, nothing was decided, and we prepared neither for battle nor for retreat.

The 20th of June was passed in irresolution and inaction. Marshal Jourdan, ill and angry, kept his room ; and the King was equally invisible. The convoy which had left Burgos before we did, and had reached Vittoria on the 18th, was still there, having been detained on various pretexts ;* the

* It was alleged that a desire on the part of Joseph to procure an interview with the Spanish lady I have already mentioned, and who was travelling with the convoy, had led to the delay.

town was crowded with carriages and vehicles of all sorts. A train of heavy artillery, useless in a skirmish, encumbered the out-skirts, and blocked up the road to France, which, in the event of a reverse, would have been needed for our retreat. No measures had been taken to provide for our retreat by Salvatierra and Pampeluna, in case the former road were cut off by the enemy. No new dispositions were made, no orders issued which could lead us to foresee the events of the following day; and this silence and inaction led for a moment to the supposition that the enemy's march had been postponed, and that we were in a state of security.

During the afternoon, however, the general confidence began to be shaken. Towards five o'clock, the troops posted in advance on the road from Vittoria to Bilboa were attacked; the enemy therefore seemed already to have thrown himself on the rear of our principal position. But the firing, which had been pretty sharp, ceased at nightfall, and a report was spread that we had been engaged only with a party of guerillas commanded by Longa. Nobody, however, believed this, and the unexpected attack made us fear a more serious one for the ensuing day. The proposed retreat was again debated, but it was now too late. Neither the convoy nor the train of artillery had, as yet, set out, and there would have been extreme danger in

undertaking a night-march in the face of the enemy along a road encumbered with waggon and vehicles of all kinds. The opportunity had been missed. We tried to persuade ourselves that General Clausel would effect his junction before the Allied Army had taken up its position: there was nothing more to be done. The convoy at last set out at 2 A.M., but the artillery train had to remain where it was for want of horses.

The King left Vittoria at 4 A.M. on the 21st of June, with Marshal Jourdan and his staff. I started an hour later and overtook him at about two miles from the town, to the right of the Miranda road, on a mamelon in the rear of our positions. He remained there an hour, and then advanced about half a mile farther, still to the right of the road, to another mamelon. The Zadora, on our right, divided us from the enemy. The village of Tres Puentes beyond the river, was now only occupied by a few of our sharpshooters.

The following was the position of our whole force at 6 A.M.: The Army of the South, on which we placed our principal reliance, formed the left wing, and was drawn up against the mountains commanding the valley of the Zadora and the basin of Vittoria. The Army of the Centre was in the centre, to the right of the road from the Puebla d'Arlanzon to Vittoria. The Army of Portugal formed our right

wing, its extremity reaching to the road from Bilbao to Vittoria, in advance of the villages of Avechueco, and of Gamarra Mayor and Minor, and covering a bridge over the Zadora. The cavalry, placed in the rear, nearer Vittoria, was drawn up on ground intersected with streams and ditches, where it was difficult for it to act efficiently. Several mamelons protecting the line were armed with formidable batteries, others farther in the rear, provided a second position on which the troops occupying the first, could re-form, should they be driven back.

Until past seven in the morning we were doubtful as to the enemy's intentions, and still supposed that he would not attack us that day. This notion was so widespread, that the various regiments had sent detachments into the town to procure provisions, and they had to be recalled in haste when the movements of the allies dispelled all uncertainty as to their intentions.

Towards 8 o'clock, from the height of the mamelon on which we stood, we perceived the enemy defiling into the plain lying between us and the Puebla Pass. They deployed slowly, and a column * of great strength first advanced on our left, reaching the steep mountain against which our left wing was drawn up, and whose other side we had not been able to occupy. Marshal Jourdan foreseeing

* Commanded by General Hill.

all the consequences of this movement, despatched troops from the centre to the assistance of the left. Another equally strong column advanced at the same time on our right with the object of turning the batteries on our mamelons.

The enemy opened fire at about 9 A.M. The attack on our left was very sharp. At the first thunder of the cannon, the King and Marshal Jourdan left the centre and crossing the high road, joined the threatened wing. I accompanied them. They halted at a battery which protected the defence of the village of Subijano de Alava, in advance of the extreme front of our line, and a struggle commenced on that spot which lasted nearly two hours ; but in spite of the most obstinate resistance, the village was taken by the enemy, and after several fruitless attempts to regain it, the position was abandoned. Our troops however retreated in good order.

After this hard-won triumph, which cost the English many lives, the remainder of the Allied Army passed through the pass of Puebla, crossed the Zadora at Tres-Puentes and attacked our centre, while another column,* consisting partly of Spanish and Portuguese troops, and advancing from Murquija, marched upon our right by the road from Bilboa to Vittoria.

* Under General Graham.

The King and the Marshal had returned from the left to a battery of 30 guns in the centre, raised on one of the heights of which I have spoken. But the movement which at the beginning of the action had weakened the centre, had rendered it incapable of lasting resistance; the terrible fire from our battery could not arrest the advance of the English, and we observed the intrepidity of that advance with irresistible admiration. At length, after a protracted resistance, our centre gave way, and fell back towards Vittoria, at the same moment that our left, which had been unable to defend Subijano, was also falling back.

Our first position was thus completely abandoned, and the advance of the English on the heights commanding our left, forbade an attempt to retain the second; we therefore only held it for the time necessary to cover our retreat. The enemy was at the same time making rapid progress on our extreme right, which the Army of Portugal could not arrest, notwithstanding the gallant conduct of the troops. They sustained the conflict with the greatest obstinacy, and were still fighting when the rest of the army was in retreat.

Nothing but our cavalry could save us now; but we found it still in the same spot in which we had seen it in the morning. I do not know why no cavalry charge was made.

The battle was lost. It was then 4 o'clock in the afternoon.*

The King and Marshal Jourdan left the battlefield, and bearing to the right towards Vittoria, without entering the town, reached the high road to France. Both the road and the plain that it crosses to the North of Vittoria, were obstructed by the great park of artillery—men were busy spiking the guns—by a train of waggons and treasure-chests, containing several millions in specie, which had been left open for all,† by the King's carriages ready for starting, by those belonging to the generals and heads of the military administration, and by quantities of baggage of all kinds.

In the midst of all this we discussed the direction in which we should retreat with our immense convoy. The advance made by the enemy

* The forces of the Allied Army were on this occasion greatly superior to our own. Judging from the movements of the enemy, I should estimate them at 100,000 men. Our effective forces had been much diminished by the loss of the Mancune Division, which had marched with the convoy on the morning of the 21st, and by that of the detachment under General Clausel.

Nearly 2,000 men had remained at Vittoria in charge of the military stores. The cavalry made no charge. There were therefore at most, 40,000 men actively engaged. Our artillery alone was superior to that of the enemy, and did its duty well.

† Few of our soldiers made use of their opportunity. The sudden arrival of the enemy on the plain behind Vittoria gave them no time in which to do so, and a large number did not care to delay their march.

on our right led us to fear that the road to France was already cut off, and we determined to take the road to Salvatierra? But where was it? Which was it? How were we to find it? Nobody among those about the King could point it out.

One of the great blunders of the day, as I have already said, was not to have foreseen that in the event of defeat it might be necessary to retreat on Salvatierra. No preparation had been made for this. Not only had the road not been repaired, but it had not even been reconnoitred. We only knew that Salvatierra was to the east of Vittoria, and no better guide was to be found than an inhabitant of the latter town, who had been employed in the King's household, and who offered to conduct us.

Just as we were setting out across the fields under his guidance, the enemy appeared on the left of the town, which had been left quite uncovered by the retreat of the Army of the South, and a strong party of hussars charged forward on the plain to the North of Vittoria. This unexpected attack terrified the crowd round the block of carriages; and they fled in all directions, seeking the road to France or that to Salvatierra. In a few moments dreadful confusion prevailed. The artillery men cut the traces of the gun carriages; part of the troops left the ranks and sought for safety in panic-stricken flight; one hundred and fourteen cannons, twenty-

seven howitzers and their ammunition waggons, the treasure-chest of the army containing over twenty-five millions, that of the King, the fortunes amassed by generals, officers and civilians during five years of warfare, plunder and extortion, were all abandoned, and became the prize of the conqueror.*

I was close to the King, whom I had not left during the whole of that fatal day, when the rout began. He fled, like the rest, and was in danger of being taken by the English hussars. I saw a man struck by a bullet, fall at his horse's feet.† Fortunately for the King his regiment of Light Horse Guards, which had remained near him all the day, and had effected his retreat slowly and in good order, now came up. General Jamin, its commander, drew up his men in battle order, charged the Hussars, and drove them back. A considerable number of our disbanded soldiers, who were blocked up among the baggage, owed their lives to the gallant conduct of this corps, which acted as rear-guard to the Army of Portugal during the retreat. In the confusion Marshal Jourdan and several

* M. Thibault, the King's Treasurer, who had 100,000 crowns belonging to him in the Court Carriages, was killed on the one in which it was contained, from which he would not be separated.

† A Spaniard attached to the cause of Joseph. He exclaimed in falling "Muero por mi rey!"

officers of the staff had been separated from our group.

The fall of night, and still more the ardour of the enemy to seize on the splendid booty within their reach, saved the French army from total destruction. We were not hotly pursued, and our losses in killed and wounded were not in proportion to the disastrous issue of the battle; they hardly exceeded 4000 killed and wounded, and a small number of prisoners. The loss of the allies was about the same. But Spain was irrevocably lost to the French.*

From the above details, the reader may perceive how great was the blame to be attached to the King and the French generals. The first and greatest error, was their having placed themselves under the necessity of fighting a battle which was, so to speak, lost beforehand. The utmost bravery of our troops could not avail against the immense disproportion in numbers and disadvantage of our position. Moreover the French were engaged with an enemy, who, even with equal numbers, might dispute the victory. The English and the Portuguese displayed the utmost valour, and even the Spaniards distinguished

* The following are the official lists :

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
English	501	2,807
Portuguese	150	899
Spanish	19	464
	<hr/> 670	<hr/> 4,170

themselves in the attack on our right. There was not therefore any chance of success for us, and the fatal issue was delayed only by the superiority of our artillery, which was worthy on this day of its ancient renown. But still more unpardonable was the carelessness of the King's staff, who had made no effort to render defeat less fatal, and whose culpable want of foresight was the cause of immense quantities of war material and booty of incalculable value falling into the hands of the enemy.

Meanwhile, having taken by hap-hazard the right road to Salvatierra, we presently found ourselves among impassable marshes and deep ditches where some persons were lost. I was very nearly being of the number. Having to cross one of these ditches, I dismounted, behind the King, who had also got off his horse; but on reaching the bottom my foot slipped as I was about to climb the opposite side. My horse who was following me was checked by the involuntary jerk which I gave his bridle in my fall, and rolled over with me with all his weight. I remained for a few moments unconscious, and when I had regained my senses and was able to remount, the King and his suite were out of sight. I wandered on, hap-hazard, for four leagues, following the crowd of fugitives before me, and led, or rather carried along, by them, I at last reached the walls of Salva-

tierra at 11 P.M. By a fortunate chance, I met the King at the gates. He had seen me a few hours previously lying in the ditch, which he had crossed without accident, and had never expected to see me again. We entered the town, where we found a small French garrison together.

I was at supper with the King, M. O'Farill and Count d'Erlon when Marshal Jourdan arrived. As he came in, he said, "Well! you *would* have a battle and now it is lost!" Then he sat down to table, shared our meagre repast, and nothing more was said on the subject. I withdrew at midnight to the quarters which the commandant of the garrison had been so good as to assign to me, and in spite of the emotions of the day, or perhaps because of them, I slept soundly for three hours. I no longer possessed anything but the clothes I wore, and two horses, the one I rode, and one ridden by a servant who had joined me. My other horses and mules and my baggage were lost, as were also some of my papers and a few valuables which I had left in the King's carriages. There was nothing therefore to impede my journey, and I was up at daybreak.

We continued our retreat on that and the following day by very bad roads and in wretched weather. We contrived however to rally a few corps, and to restore some semblance of order. The Army

of Portugal, under General Reille and which continued to act as our rear-guard, covered our march and kept off the enemy, who were, besides, eagerly reaping the fruits of victory and displayed no great activity in pursuit. Through Countess Gazan, who had remained at Vittoria, and whom Lord Wellington sent, with every mark of courtesy, to rejoin her husband, we learned that all those belonging to the French army who had been unable to follow us in our precipitate retreat, were treated with great humanity by the enemy. This was a consolation.

On the 23rd of June, in the afternoon, we came to the high road from Tolosa to Pampeluna, at the village of Irunson. There we divided our forces; the Army of Portugal bearing towards San-Esteban, and the Armies of the South and Centre, with the King, towards Pampeluna. We reached that town on the same day at 8 P.M.

We remained there all the 24th. The enemy appeared between Irunson and the town, and some guns were fired on a detachment we had left outside, but no serious engagement ensued. Our troops came into the town which the English were not then prepared to besiege. From Pampeluna the Army of the South advanced towards Roncesvalles, so as to enter France by St. Jean Pied de Port, and it was decided that the King and Marshal

Jourdan with the Army of the Centre should effect their retreat by Ostiz, Lauz and the Col de Bate, so as to reach the valley of Bastan.

In accordance with these arrangements we left Pampeluna at midnight on the 24th of June, leaving behind us a garrison of 4000 men, and we passed the night of the 25th at Lauz. We resumed our march on the following morning at 5 A.M., and at seven, we crossed the Col de Bate. We then entered the valley of Bastan and passed the night at Elizondo, the principal village in the valley.* We found it well populated and able to afford us food and shelter. The Army of the Centre remained at Elizondo, with orders to retreat by the Col de Maya, if driven from that position. The King resolved on rejoining, with his Guard, the Army of Portugal, which after separating from us at Irunson, was now advancing on the Bidassoa through San Esteban. We therefore left Elizondo in the morning, and took the Col de Maya road so far as Ariscon. Then, turning to the left, we crossed the high mountains of Achetcyola, in order to reach the Col d'Echalar

* This lovely valley, one of the pleasantest and best cultivated in the Pyrenees, forms a kind of republic ruled by special laws and customs. One of these forbids the inhabitants to acquire or to hold more than a certain amount of land. Nearly every family bears a chess-board in its coat of arms, as a symbol of this equality in the distribution of land. I remarked the same design painted on the houses.

whence we descended to the village of the same name, one of the principal villages of the valley of Cincovillas, situated on the right bank of the Bidassoa. Then we followed the course of the river as far as Vera, the last Spanish town in that part of the Pyrenean frontier. We arrived there on the 27th at eight in the evening, after a march of twelve hours on bad roads and in frightful weather. The next day, the 28th of June, we were in France. The King fixed his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz. The headquarters of the Army of Portugal were at Irun, on the left bank of the Bidassoa.

It would be difficult to describe the various sensations I experienced when, on descending the last mountain-slopes on the morning of the 28th, I discerned the smiling plains and fertile fields round about St. Jean de Luz; when I once more saw the soil of France, that beloved country whence I had so long been exiled, and to which I was returning after enduring, far from her, so much grief and suffering. But these meditations were soon dispelled, when I reflected on the evils we were bringing in our train. We were arriving with a defeated army, pursued by powerful foes. The cultivated and quiet fields on which I gazed were about to become the theatre of war, if we found ourselves once more able to resist, or the prey

of the victor if we could not do so. Our return was a calamity for the industrious inhabitants of those parts, who for more than a century had seen no enemy in their country. Fear and terror were our heralds, and far from being welcomed with shouts of joy, silence was the best reception we could hope for and the only one we had a right to expect.

When we had reached the high road from Irun to St. Jean de Luz my reflections assumed a still gloomier character. The convoy that had left Vittoria on the morning of the 21st of June had successfully crossed the frontier, and was advancing towards the interior of France; but it had spread the tidings on its way that a great battle was about to take place on the very day of its departure. Accounts of our defeat had soon followed, and had been received with dismay in all the country lying between the Bidassoa and Bayonne. We saw on the high road an immense number of vehicles drawn by oxen and loaded with household goods that the owners were trying to save from pillage, by removing them to the towns, where they believed they would be safer than in the country. The spectres of war and desolation rose from beneath our feet, and the delusive delight which the first glimpse of France had produced for a moment faded away, to make room for a terrible reality.

I did not remain long at St. Jean de Luz. On the day following that of our arrival in the town, I was informed by the King that he had selected me to undertake a mission to the Emperor, who was then at Dresden. I was to bear to him the news of our reverses, and answer any questions he might put to me concerning the various events that had preceded and followed the battle of Vittoria. The King thought me better qualified than others to reply to such questioning. I had never left him since our departure from Valladolid; I had seen everything with my own eyes, and notwithstanding all the disorder and confusion about us, I had, according to custom, made notes, daily, of the occurrences I had witnessed. This was a hard task. I should, no doubt, be badly received, and still worse treated after my news had been heard. Yet I felt bound to undertake the mission, as a proof of my fidelity in the presence of great misfortune.

The King passed the 30th of June in preparing the despatches of which I was to be the bearer. They consisted of an official letter to the Emperor, recounting in detail the recent events in Spain. He attributed our reverses to the want of harmony between the generals and himself, and their insubordination; to the great superiority of the enemy's forces, and to the state of public feeling which was constantly misguided. The King sent an almost similar des-

patch to the Duke of Feltre, and forwarded a copy of the latter to the Prince of Neuchâtel.* To these official documents, the King added two private and confidential autograph letters. The first, addressed to the Emperor, and intended as an introduction for me, was as follows :

“ SIRE,

“ M. Miot, Councillor of State, is the bearer of this letter to your Imperial Majesty. I beg you to send him back to me with your decision.

“ Eight years ago, your Imperial and Royal Majesty, of your own accord, sent M. Miot, Councillor of State, to me, that I might appoint him to a ministry. I conferred on him the Ministry of the Interior, and as a proof of my appreciation of his excellent services, I gave him, before leaving the kingdom of Naples, the title of Count of Melito. He has borne it for a considerable time in Spain. I now entreat your Imperial and Royal Majesty to do me the favour of allowing him to continue to bear this title. He is the only man of any consideration appointed to my court by your Majesty, when I went to Naples, who has not forsaken me in the long and painful trials I have endured since I have been in Spain. M. Miot can tell your Majesty everything ; he knows my heart,

* The reader will find the King's letter to the Minister of War, appended to this chapter.

and can give every detail whether political, military or domestic.

“I am, etc.”

“St. Jean de Luz, July 1, 1813.”

The second autograph letter was to the Prince of Neuchâtel and contained these words only :

“M. Miot, who is about to proceed to the Imperial headquarters, will tell you of our misfortunes. Under present circumstances I greatly rely on the friendship of which your Highness has given me so many proofs, both as regards the matters on which M. Miot will confer with you, and with respect to himself. I specially recommend him to the kindness of your Highness.

“I am, etc.”

“St. Jean de Luz, July 1, 1813.”

On handing me the above letters and the accompanying despatches, the King directed me to pass through Vichy, where the Queen was then staying for her health, to communicate my mission to her, to explain his reasons for confiding it to me, and not to resume my journey without receiving her commands. He wrote to her also, begging her to supply me with the necessary funds for travelling, as both the King and I had lost everything in our flight from Vittoria, and neither of us could provide for the expenses of the journey.

I left St. Jean de Luz on the evening of the 1st of July, and reached Bayonne on the following morning. I then travelled post both day and night, and arrived at Vichy on the 7th at 3 P.M. My unexpected arrival greatly alarmed the Queen; she thought I had come to announce the death of her husband. Having recovered herself, she listened sorrowfully to the melancholy intelligence which I had to impart. But when she understood that I was to carry this news to the Emperor, she utterly disapproved of the King's selection of a messenger. She said the Emperor would be greatly displeased that the mission was not confided to a military man, that I should be badly received, if received at all, and that he would not listen to me. "The Emperor," she said, "is no longer the same as when you knew him; he retains no recollection of former friendships. Everything must bend to his will. He will not recognise you. People approach him in fear and trembling. Moreover he is, at the present moment, in a fearfully difficult position. . Last year's reverses have changed his character! In his present state of mind, it would be useless to appeal, on behalf of your mission, to a former friendship which it would give him more pain than pleasure to remember."

These words were not very encouraging; but as similar ideas had already occurred to me, and as I had anticipated almost all that was predicted, I

persisted in my resolve. The Queen and her sister, the Princess of Sweden, who was with her at Vichy vainly endeavoured to dissuade me. I made up my mind to resume my journey on the following day. The Count de Jaucourt, the King's First Chamberlain, and a former colleague of mine at the Tribunate, who was in attendance on the Queen at Vichy, gave me a letter to the Prefect of the Allier, requesting him in the name of the Queen, to grant me a passport, which I was to obtain in passing through Moulins.*

Just as I was taking leave of the Queen, on the evening of the 8th of July, an officer arrived, who had been despatched to her by the Duke of Feltre. He brought her a letter from the Minister, announcing that the Emperor, who was already aware of recent events in Spain, had directed the King to leave the army, recalled Marshal Jourdan, ordering him to retire to his country seat without passing through Paris, and despatched the Duke of Dalmatia from Dresden, giving him the command in chief over all the troops still in Spain or on the frontiers. The Minister begged the Queen to use all her influence with her husband to persuade him to comply with these arrangements with a good grace. He informed

*. I had come to Vichy with a passport granted me by Marshal Jourdan at St. Jean de Luz, but I had frequently met with difficulties on presenting it, because it was not drawn up in the ordinary form.

her at the same time that Count Roederer, in whom the King had great confidence, was now on his way to him, entrusted by the Emperor with various explanations calculated to lessen the mortification which these proceedings, necessitated by events, might cause him. The bearer of the letter added further details. He said that the Emperor had issued orders forbidding travellers coming from the Army of Spain to cross the Garonne, and specially commanding that none should be allowed to reach his headquarters. His wish was to keep the particulars of recent events secret as far as possible, fearing that if they came to be known they might have an adverse influence on the negotiations in which he was then engaged.

How was my mission to be carried out under these circumstances? What were my means for fulfilling it? Of what use would it be to the King, since all the evil it was intended to prevent was already accomplished? Had not the Emperor already formed his own opinion on Spanish affairs? And supposing I could succeed in seeing him, which was now more than ever unlikely, how could I hope to change it? Was it not more reasonable to return to the King, to share the exile to which he would be condemned, and to make use of my influence to avert any extreme and fatal resolution on his part? Such were the arguments brought forward by the Queen

and the Princess of Sweden, to induce me to give up my journey to Dresden, and they were not without effect. I resisted for some time, but at last I was persuaded, and I agreed to retrace my steps. Although I was convinced at the time, as I am now, that by taking a contrary resolution, I should not have served the King better than by returning to him, I cannot forgive myself for this act of weakness. I have frequently reproached myself for having yielded to the representations and entreaties of the Queen.

I was on my way to Bayonne when at Biandes, the last post-town before arriving thither, I met the King who had set out on the morning of the 15th of July. He was in no way surprised at my return ; after what had taken place since our parting, he seemed to expect it. He had refused to see Marshal Soult, who had just arrived at headquarters ; but had held several long conversations with Count Roederer, who had afterwards taken leave of him and returned to Paris. But these conversations had not restored him to calmness ; his discontent was deep, and when with me it was unrestrained. He was looking out for a retired spot in the neighbourhood, where he might remain until he could remove to Morfontaine. We stayed for a couple of days at Puyhoo, seven or eight leagues from Bayonne, in order to make the requisite inquiries. The Château de Poyanne, two

leagues from Tartas on the left bank of the Adour, in a very retired part of the country, was recommended to us. Joseph agreed to take it, and we established ourselves there. The King's suite consisted of M. Paroisse his physician, M. Presle, private secretary, M. O'Farill, General Desprez, who had returned to him after his mission to Moscow, General Espert, my brother Colonel Miot, a few other Spanish and French officers, and myself. We remained a week in this solitary place. At the expiration of that time the King received a letter from the Minister of War, intimating that the Emperor approved of the King's withdrawing from the Spanish frontiers, and that until further orders he might reside at Morfontaine. But he was directed to travel under the strictest incognito, without any suite, and not to pass through Paris.

The day after these orders reached us, Count d'Angosse, Prefect of the Department of the Landes, arrived at Poyannes, having received instructions to provide us with passports. The King's was made out in the name of Count de Survilliers,* and the members of his suite then with him also received passports empowering them to retire to various parts of France. We made our preparations for departure and for a separation that was painful to all of us.

* The name of an estate near Morfontaine which also belonged to him. He retained this title in the United States.

Adversity had formed us into a kind of family, and the tie was not broken without pain.

The King, who did not wish for any leave-taking, quitted the place on horseback with me at 5 A.M. on the 24th of July. After crossing the Adour, we took post at Campagne on the Mont de Marsan road. We had but one carriage, in which the King travelled with his physician and myself. We proceeded thus, stopping at none of the principal towns, passing through Bordeaux, Perigueux, Limoges and Orleans, where we were not recognised, or at least we thought we were not. On reaching Croix de Berny, the last post before Paris, the King resolved, notwithstanding the Emperor's commands that he should not enter Paris, to bargain with the postmaster, who undertook to convey us directly to St. Denis without changing horses. We drove across the capital at 2 o'clock A.M. and reached Morfontaine, at last, at 5 A.M. on the 30th of July. Two days afterwards, the Queen joined her husband, and so soon as I had seen him reunited to his family, I went to Versailles to pass a few days with mine, whom I had not seen since I parted with them at Valencia, in September of the preceding year. After a short absence I returned to take up my abode at Morfontaine.

We were in exile; we were forbidden to appear in Paris, and although this command was not very

strictly observed by the King, who went several times to the capital to witness theatrical performances, I, for my own part, conformed to it without regret. I was dwelling in a lovely spot, at a beautiful season of the year; after many trials, I enjoyed perfect repose, and my days passed tranquilly away. Dividing my time between study and exercise in the open air, I resumed my literary occupations. We were, moreover, in complete ignorance of what was taking place around us. The Emperor did not write to his brother; none of the Ministers had permission to visit the King, and we obtained all our information from the *Moniteur*, at that time less veracious than ever. We only knew that after the conclusion of an armistice, on the preceding 4th of June, negotiations had been commenced, and a congress opened at Prague; and we hoped, because we greatly wished, that those negotiations might bring about a peace, the need of which was felt by everyone in France, except, perhaps, the one man on whom it depended.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVIII.

LETTER FROM KING JOSEPH TO THE DUKE OF FELTRE, MINISTER
OF WAR AT PARIS.

St. Jean de Luz, June 29, 1813.

MONSIEUR LE DUC: I have received your letters of the 18th and 20th inst. Events have unhappily belied the hopes you gave that General Clausel would join me, dissipated the fear that I should persist in withdrawing from the country without a battle, and refuted your apparent conviction that the enemy was not greatly stronger than myself.

It is, perhaps, useless to ask you at the present time to consider how little comparison can be made between the retreat of the Army of Portugal, from which the enemy was obliged to retire, because of the presence of the Army of the Centre in the province of Segovia, and also because he wanted to occupy Madrid, and a retreat at the end of the campaign, by the junction of that army with the Army of the South, and their arrival on the communications of the enemy, who could no longer remain before Burgos.

As to the reparation, the armament and the victualling of Burgos, I could only write orders for these things and acquaint you that I had done so. But as I could as little obtain obedience from an army which never owned my authority as from that of Aragon and Catalonia, I am as little accountable for Tortosa as for Pampeluna. I learned the situation of the latter only by going thither myself.

It seems also useless to repeat what I have so often said,

that I deny any real success having been gained over Mina, and that the war could only be stopped by driving out the English, and healing the wounds of the nation. I have several times compared this war to that of La Vendée.

In order to beat the English, it was necessary that the three armies before whom they had retreated in the preceding campaign, should remain united, or ready to be united at the first signal. They ought to have been fresh, and their ranks complete. Instead of this, they were exhausted in the pursuit of Mina and his bands ; their divisions were reduced to 3000 and even 2000 fighting men. The Armies of the Centre and South had hard work in keeping the country and the enemy in check and in raising taxes to enable them to exist. Magazines were not established on the line, nor were the fortresses victualled. Neither the central administration nor my authority was recognised. The general headquarters that I set up at Salamanca in November were not approved, and M. Mathieu Favier was only acknowledged as head of the administration when it was already too late, and the campaign was beginning : he received his powers at the beginning of June.

Direct correspondence between Paris and the Generals-in-chief of three armies on the same ground continued to prevent the unity and *ensemble* necessary to success. The surplus of one army never helped another. Having no staff, it was impossible for me to give the necessary directions to secure that all our efforts should tend simultaneously to one end. You oblige me, Monsieur le Duc, to recur to these facts, because your despatches incessantly remind me of them, at a time, when, harassed with anxieties of all kinds, I employed every faculty of my mind in devising means for arresting the advance of the enemy, and for the defence of the French frontiers which are threatened in all directions. I repeat it, the exertions of the English, of the Spaniards, and of the Portuguese are great, and at the present day they all know how to fight. On the part of France great efforts should be made to provide men and ammunition in order to stop the enemy on the frontiers.

The armies of Spain need re-organisation. Four armies cannot act harmoniously. The soldier, accustomed to live on what he

can pick up, is not with his colours when wanted. The spirit of disorder and pillage makes greater progress every day ; the chiefs feel that the soldiers must live ; everybody becomes accustomed to a spectacle of disorder, and, marching through a country without magazines, before enemies well supplied not only from their own stores, but by the inhabitants, who draw comparisons between those who rob them and those who pay, we cannot hope for success.

So long as a different state of things does not prevail it seems to me unreasonable to think of acting on the offensive.

Your demand, Monsieur le Duc, for part of the cavalry from the Armies of the Centre, of Portugal, and of the South, removes all doubt on this head. Therefore, however great my reluctance to weaken the army at a moment when the enemy may make an attack on the frontier, I yield an absolute obedience, and I am issuing orders for the departure of the Cavalry Corps for which you ask in your letter of the 24th.

Several generals are also being withdrawn from the army.

I think that the arrival of some generals possessing the Emperor's confidence, who have been with him during his successful campaigns in the North, would come as the bearers of his commands, and would exercise a salutary moral influence over the army.

I am still without news of Marshal Suchet. I only know what you tell me concerning him. Nor have I any news of General Clausel, etc.

CHAPTER XIX.

Objections made by the Police to Joseph's occasional visits to Paris—Bernadotte joins the allies against France—Curious assemblage of persons at Morfontaine—Senatus-Consultum authorising the levy of 280,000 men—adverse state of public opinion—Leipsic on 18th and 19th of October—Progress of disaffection towards the Emperor—Arrival of Napoleon at St. Cloud—The King's interview with the Emperor—Napoleon insists that his brother shall abdicate the throne of Spain—Hesitation of the King—The situation becomes more difficult—Opening of the Corps Législatif—The Emperor tries in vain to lead public opinion in a favourable direction—The King in a letter to the Emperor, dated 29th of December, at last consents to abdicate on certain conditions—His letter remains unanswered—On hearing of the summary dissolution of the Corps Législatif Joseph writes a second time to his brother—The Emperor delaying to reply, the King sends the Author to Paris to investigate matters—Narrative of the events which brought about the dissolution of the Corps Législatif—Sensation produced in Paris and the departments by that measure—Interviews of the Author with the Duke de Vicenza and King Louis—Joseph removes to Paris and establishes himself at the Luxembourg—Third letter from the King to the Emperor, who considers it too emphatic—An interview with the Prince of Neuchâtel again angers the King who wishes to retire—the Author persuades him to confer with his Spanish Ministers—After this conference Joseph writes a fourth letter to the Emperor which is at

length approved—It is agreed that the King shall bear henceforth the title of *King Joseph*—The Author returns to the Council of State—Treaty of Valensçay, restoring the throne of Spain to Ferdinand VII.—Progress of the Allied Armies—The Emperor before placing himself at the head of his army, regulates the form of government during his absence—Grand audience, to which the officers of the newly organised National Guard of Paris are admitted—Napoleon sets out on the 25th of January, 1814.

My peaceful life at Morfontaine was soon disturbed by the great events which marked the close of 1813, and also by some private circumstances. I will relate the latter first. On the 23rd of August I received a note from the Duke of Rovigo, the Minister of Police, begging me to call upon him. Although it was courteously worded, this note inspired me with dread. What could the Police want with me? What had I to do with that formidable authority? I communicated the ill-omened despatch to the King, who was as unable as I to explain or guess at its meaning, but he advised me to comply with the Duke's request; and my own intention was certainly not to evade it. The next day I went to Paris, and presented myself at the Duke of Rovigo's house. I was summoned to his presence almost immediately. An usher showed me into the Minister's cabinet. His manner was by no means inimical. He received me very kindly and said that, knowing my attachment to the King, and the trust reposed in me by His Majesty, he had thought

it well to send for me that he might acquaint me with certain circumstances which concerned him. "The Emperor," he continued, "has been informed that his brother frequently visits Paris in strict incognito, and that you sometimes accompany him. These visits, of which I also, as Minister of Police, am aware, are very objectionable; they might lead to some unfortunate encounter, and, under present circumstances, anything which might reveal the coolness unfortunately existing between the brothers would be detrimental to the interests of both. If the King has personal reasons for coming to Paris, it would be better to notify his intentions to the Police, who would take precautions to remove the dangers to which he exposes himself by these mysterious journeys." The Duke of Rovigo added that, "feeling confident of my influence over the King—which, he was happy to assure me, was in no way displeasing to the Emperor—he hoped I would use it in the present instance to persuade the King to a course of conduct which he would certainly never regret."

This, as the reader will perceive, was an intimation to me that the King must not come to Paris without leave, asked and obtained beforehand, from the Police, who would set their agents to dog his footsteps.

I answered that, "although the King honoured

me with some confidence, and frequently gave me proofs of it, I had no right to ask him to confide to me his private actions, that I had no desire to be informed of proceedings which he chose to conceal from me; that I had been unaware of several of his visits to Paris, and that with respect to those occasions on which I had accompanied him, I should have thought I insulted him by supposing for a moment that he was not free to go and come as he chose, or by inquiring his motives, if he thought proper to withhold them; but that I would faithfully repeat to him what I had been told, and that it would be for him to decide what steps it would be proper for him to take."

The Duke of Rovigo seemed satisfied with my reply; we parted on good terms, and I returned to Morfontaine that evening. The King was glad to hear that the subject of the interview had been of no greater importance, and, as may easily be supposed, he gave up his visits to Paris rather than submit to the conditions imposed. Nothing more was said on the subject, and graver cares, more serious fears, soon occupied our minds.

The armistice had come to an end on the 10th of August, the Congress of Prague was dissolved, and hostilities had recommenced on the 15th. Austria declared war against us, and the fragile family ties formed by the marriage of the Emperor were

broken. Sweden also declared against us, and Bernadotte, the French general on whom the succession to the throne he had conferred, who had acquired his military renown among French soldiers whom he had often led to victory, had put himself at the head of one of the armies about to wage war against his country, to overthrow the Emperor and destroy his dynasty. A proclamation published by him on the 15th of August, appealed to foreign arms against his countrymen! Whatever blame might at that time have been incurred by Napoleon, however great were the calamities heaped on France and Europe by his insatiable ambition, it was not for a French general to head a hostile army against him; it was not for a man who had profited by Napoleon's ambition and lust of conquest, to assume the task of punishing so illustrious a criminal.

In the circle in which I was then living, nothing could make a greater impression than the news of the march of the Prince Royal of Sweden. When it reached us, the Princess, his wife, was at Morfontaine, and, although the tender love felt for her by her sister the Queen of Spain, and the consideration due to that natural affection, hindered us from showing our feelings in the presence of those ladies, they weighed all the more heavily on our hearts, and we often found it difficult to conceal them.

At the period of which I speak, towards the middle of September, the Queen of Westphalia came to Morfontaine accompanied by a brilliant court. Her arrival announced another defeat; the success of the allies had forced her to leave Cassel, whither she never returned. For her sake and our own it was to be wished that she had visited beautiful Morfontaine in happier days; she would have enjoyed it more, and could have made herself better known. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the melancholy circumstances, her presence lent a certain charm to the scene. She was beautiful and amiable; she endeavoured to please, and succeeded in pleasing.

There was a curious assemblage at that time at Morfontaine. There was a King of Spain, who did not possess one inch of Spanish territory, the wife of a French general, who had been raised to the rank of Prince, and had become our deadly enemy, a Princess, daughter of the King of Würtemberg, who had given her in marriage to a brother of Napoleon, who in a short time would join the coalition against the Emperor; Spanish, German, and French courtiers without a court; and, to crown all, the Patriarch of the Indies and Grand Inquisitor of Spain * occasionally said mass for us. Shooting,

* He had been grand Almoner to King Joseph and had followed him to France.

fishing, picnics, the pleasures of the table, and cards, drew all these people together, somewhat surprised at finding themselves in each other's company. We were trying to forget our cares until the storm that was gathering in the distance should burst over-head and scatter us.

It was approaching swiftly. Every day the most alarming rumours reached us. All that we heard of the state of feeling in Germany foreboded that most terrible of wars—a people's war. The ferment of patriotism and national fanaticism had reached the highest pitch, and a horror of the French name had become general. The struggle was no longer with cabinets or with sovereigns, but with peoples, animated alike by their enmity to us, and by their hopes of obtaining, if we were beaten, the freedom and the institutions promised them in return for their sacrifices. These promises were ill kept in the sequel.

While each bulletin arriving from our armies, in spite of the official veil thrown over military operations, brought us news of further reverses, the aspect of things at home became more threatening every moment. Alarm and distrust were universal; trade was at a standstill; and the public funds, fallen below 60, menaced us with still more complete ruin. Further sacrifices of men and money were demanded of France. The Empress went herself to the Senate

on the 8th of October, to ask for a *Senatus-Consultum*, authorising the levy of 280,000 men. The Senate, servile as usual, granted it, as it had granted all the others, but the weight of this fresh conscription fell entirely on France proper. In the assessment of the contingent of each department, we no longer read the names of those composed of Dutch Territory nor of those beyond the Rhine, nor of those among which a part of Italy had been divided. The gigantic Empire, built up at so great a cost, was disappearing ; two unsuccessful campaigns had brought it down.

At last we heard of the fatal days of Leipsic, the 18th and 19th of October. The news reached us, exaggerated by all that fear, credulity, and especially malignity could add in the shape of shameful details. The King, who received no official communications as to the nature and reality of our disasters, and who was alarmed by vague information, sent me to the Minister of Police to obtain more positive accounts, and, if possible, to elicit the truth from him. I accordingly went to Paris on the 1st of November, and I saw the Minister. He did not disguise the disasters of Leipsic, but tried to reassure me as to the consequences. He did not believe the evil to be so great as had been represented. The Emperor was at Gotha, and was falling back on Fulda, where it was supposed he would arrive before the enemy. The strength of the French was still estimated at

100,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 400 guns. Frankfort was covered by a corps of 25,000 men under Marshal Kellerman, but Cassel had been abandoned by the King of Westphalia, and the enemy had appeared at Hanau, a few leagues from Frankfort. This was all the Minister of Police could tell me, and it was not very encouraging. It was still doubtful whether our troops could retreat upon the Rhine, and, even supposing that some fortunate chance enabled them to do so, would they reach the river in time to fortify or defend our frontiers, and prevent the enemy from crossing the last barrier in his way, and penetrating into ancient France? Paris presented a profoundly gloomy aspect, and I observed one most unfavourable symptom of public feeling; this was that, notwithstanding the mortification caused by our military misfortunes, a sort of satisfaction at the Emperor's reverses, because they were a punishment of his ambition, was apparent. France and her chief were looked upon as separate, and the humiliation of the Emperor seemed a consolation for the evils that were coming upon the country. The funds had fallen to 50.

I had barely got back to Morfontaine with the scanty particulars I had obtained, when we heard that the army which was in retreat, after defeating the Bavarians near Hanau, had reached the Rhine ;

that the Emperor himself had been at Mayence on the 2nd of November, and that he was momentarily expected at St. Cloud, where, in fact, he arrived on the 8th. As he seemed at first not to be aware that his brother was at Morfontaine, and, as he made no communication relating to affairs to him, I had not any opportunity of learning facts which might throw light on the events then taking place. We, like the rest of the world, learned from the newspapers, or from accounts more or less accurate, the progress of the enemy; the entry of the Prince Royal of Sweden into Holland, forcing the Duke of Placentia to leave Amsterdam, where he had resided with extraordinary powers since the abdication of King Louis; the reverses of the army of Spain, under the Duke of Dalmatia, who lost both Pampe-luna and St. Sebastian, the only two strongholds we had retained in the country; finally, the financial measures taken by the Council of State, and by which it was hoped we might dispense with the concurrence of the Corps Legislatif. There was some hesitation about convening that body. All these things are to be found in the newspapers and writings of the day, and I shall confine myself to those particulars which the recall of the King to public affairs, and my own return to the Council of State, enabled me to ascertain.

We were still at Morfontaine; the Queen of

Westphalia had left us to join her husband at the Palace of Compiègne, which the Emperor had assigned to him as a residence. We went there to see him, but found he knew no more than ourselves. The Emperor had banished him also from his presence, and had not yet received him. Nearly all November thus passed away without effecting any change in our situation. Some visits that Queen Julia had made to Paris to induce the Emperor to decide the fate of her husband, whose position and title became daily more embarrassing, had resulted in nothing, notwithstanding the Emperor's habitual consideration for his sister-in-law. The King was beginning to despair of ever obtaining an explanation, when, on the 27th of November, he received a note, inviting him to go to Paris for the purpose of an interview with the Emperor on the following evening. Both the journey and its object were enveloped in profound secrecy. The King started with me at four in the afternoon, and we reached Count Røederer's house at eight. Shortly after our arrival, M. de Flahaut, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, came to convey the King to the Tuileries, where he was introduced into the Emperor's cabinet by a secret staircase. The interview was lengthy; it was midnight when the King returned to Count Røederer's house, and we immediately set out for Morfontaine, where we arrived at 4 A.M. on the 29th of

November. There had been scarcely time for the absence of the King to be observed.

During the drive from Paris to Morfontaine, the King gave me the following particulars of the interview with his brother.

The Emperor had not in any way reproached the King with his reverses in Spain; indeed, he could not have done so without injustice, for they were, in great part, his own doing. He made no reference to the past, but dealt entirely with the present and the future.

“My present position,” he said to the King, “no longer allows me to think of foreign domination, and I shall deem myself fortunate if, on making peace, I can retain the ancient territory of France. Everything at this moment is threatening me with destruction. My armies are annihilated, and the losses they have sustained cannot be repaired without extreme difficulty. Holland is slipping from us irrevocably, Italy is wavering, the conduct of the King of Naples is causing me well-founded alarm; he is making terms with the English. He is led by the Duke de Campo Chiaro and the Marquis de Gallo.* The first is in the pay of England and the second is in the pay of Austria. If their defection

* They had both belonged to the Neapolitan Ministry during the reign of Joseph; the first as Minister of the King's Household and the second as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

has not actually taken place, at least there is nothing to hope for from Naples. The succour that should have been afforded to the Viceroy does not arrive, although he needs it urgently ; the Austrians are pressing on him, the Italians under his rule hesitate. Devoted to me in prosperity, profuse in their professions of zeal and attachment so long as I was fortunate and powerful, they turn with the wind of fortune, and are ready to fail me utterly. Belgium and the Rhine provinces are also showing signs of discontent, and do not enter heartily into the views of the Government. The Spanish frontier is invaded by the enemy.

“ At such a crisis as this how is it possible to think of foreign thrones ? How can we ask France, barely able to defend herself, for sacrifices in any other cause than that of her own preservation, since at most we can only hope she will make those that are indispensable to save her own territory ? Spain must therefore be given up ; you must return to the rank of a French Prince, or if you feel you cannot thus descend, you must withdraw entirely from public affairs and resort to absolute retirement. I shall restore Spain to Ferdinand ; I shall give it to the Spaniards on the sole condition of respecting the French frontier, and putting themselves between the English and us. I hope after making so great a concession, to be able to withdraw my army from the

Pyrenees without danger so as to send it to Italy against the Austrians. All means are good to obtain such a result."

Such was the picture of the state of affairs, traced by the hand of him best able to judge of it, and whose interest it was to make the least of the evil. I own that I had been far from thinking the situation so serious, or that the Emperor could be reduced to so desperate a resource, for, to my mind, it was perfect self-deception to imagine that by replacing Ferdinand on the throne, he could make peace with Spain, and paralyse the movements of the English, as if by the stroke of a magic wand. It was an inefficacious remedy; but as the Emperor believed it to be infallible, all the King's remonstrances were vain. Moreover, he had made up his mind beforehand, as was unfortunately his custom. The King had therefore no alternative but to abdicate his fatal title, or to bury himself in some obscure retreat far from Paris, for the Emperor would not have suffered him to remain at Morfontaine. The King did not at that time tell me which course he would take. I could perceive that his mind was not as yet made up.

This state of hesitation lasted a fortnight, and during that period the Queen made several visits to the Emperor, took her children to see him, and in the course of conversation assured him of the good dispositions of her husband, and handed to him a

letter which the King had entrusted to her. But as this letter was not sufficiently clearly expressed, the Queen's efforts neither effected a complete reconciliation on the one side, nor on the other obtained a full assent to the will of the Emperor.

Meanwhile events became more serious every day. On the 21st of December, an Austrian Corps had crossed the Rhine near Huningen; the neutrality of Switzerland had not been respected. France, ancient France, was invaded! The Corps Législatif had been opened on the 19th of the same month, and the authorities were alarmed by the spirit displayed in that Assembly hitherto both docile and silent. The Emperor's speech had produced an unfavourable impression. Not a word of peace, but men and money, money and men, were the only conclusions to be drawn from a series of vague and deceptive phrases. Internal enemies were lifting their heads and attacking on every side the great colossus at whose feet they had so long lain prostrate. The Emperor made vain efforts to impress public opinion favourably with regard to his projects. He despatched his Senators, Councillors of State, and auditors, to the various departments. Their business was to rouse the people, and to levy recruits and arms. An army of reserve was formed at the same time, and stores were established for arms and clothing. The National Guard was re-organised; the national

airs were revived,* in fact, every effort was made to revert to the revolutionary measures and the expedients of the first years of the war of the Revolution. But where was that force of popular feeling which in those great days, was so active and so energetic in its development? Where the resources which it brought forth as if by magic? Where the terror that caused men to take refuge in the army as the safest and most honourable career? Where was the exuberant population, the youthful enthusiasm that ardently sought glory and promotion amid a thousand dangers? None of these great motive powers was in existence at the end of 1813. The magical ideas of liberty and equality which had stirred the masses of the nation were dead. Attachment to the throne, and to the sovereign, which had formerly supplied a motive power, had not yet sprung up in favour of a recent dynasty. The Government alone lifted up its voice, and no one replied. Indifference was in the hearts of the people; the conscription had exhausted their bodies; what could be hoped for from elements such as these? Those who made use of them were aware of their powerlessness, and the officials sent into the departments could not inspire a confidence in which they themselves were wanting. The army alone was

* The street organs played the Marseillaise, the words of which had been parodied in honour of Napoleon.

faithful; it remained true to its chief, and our reverses had not diminished its attachment, but the Generals were beginning to put forward their claims and to show signs of discontent. Moreover, our troops daily decreased in number, in face of a daily increasing enemy, and there was no replacing our losses.

Amid all the activity which the Emperor was trying to arouse about himself and in the provinces, he could not endure that his brother should remain idle in his retirement at Morfontaine, and that, instead of putting himself at the head of the movement, as next in rank, he should hold aloof, and far from helping should appear to disapprove. Madame Mère arrived at Morfontaine on the 27th of December with the Queen, who had gone to Paris on the preceding day. These ladies were instructed to inform the King that the Emperor desired him to remove at once to Paris, and take up his residence at the Luxembourg, without conditions, and as a French Prince; and that Napoleon required he should also write a letter, announcing his resolution on the subject, and should assume the attitude, not of King of Spain, but of the Emperor's first subject. The letter was to be so expressed as to be suitable for insertion in the *Moniteur*.

Yielding to the entreaties of his mother and his wife, the King wrote such a letter on the 29th of December. He expressed his desire of doing in

all things that which might be helpful to the Emperor, and promised that he would abdicate if necessary, in the interests of peace, but he at the same time requested that a French plenipotentiary might treat with one of his ministers, in order to legislate in the interests of those Spaniards who had embraced his cause. Madame Mère undertook to convey his letter to the Emperor and at the same time to excuse the King for not coming at once to Paris, under pretext that he was ill, and unable for the journey.

The letter received no answer,* although from information I subsequently obtained, it would seem to have been approved of by the Emperor, and even to have been forwarded to the *Moniteur* for insertion on the 1st of January. But it was withdrawn during the night. I have never known for what reason.

The King was still in a state of uncertainty, when, on the evening of the 31st of December, he heard that the Legislative Assembly had been adjourned and then violently dissolved. This news,

* In the *Mémoires et Correspondance du roi Joseph*, this letter of the 29th of December, 1813, is given verbatim (Vol. X. p. 2), and is followed by the Emperor's reply, undated. Count Miot was evidently unaware of the existence of that reply, and mistaken in asserting that Joseph's letter of the 29th of December did not receive any. However, Napoleon's answer, as reported in the *Moniteur*, only reproduces in a rougher form the Emperor's words to the King, in the interview of the preceding 28th of November. (*Note by the French Publishers.*)

accompanied by numerous alarming particulars, made him fear that the Government was in imminent peril, and induced him to write again, very briefly, to the Emperor. In this letter he said, that having learned from the *Moniteur* what had taken place in Paris, he offered to join his Imperial Majesty immediately and to remove to the Luxembourg that same day. His letter was dispatched by a courier, and handed to the Emperor who sent word that he would answer it. But either because he did not think the danger of such a kind as to call for the King's services, or because he would not relinquish the conditions he had imposed on his brother, the promised answer was not forthcoming, and having waited for it in vain on the 1st and 2nd of January, the King sent me to Paris, to obtain precise information as to what was going on. He gave me copies of his correspondence with the Emperor, and authorised me to call on the Duke of Vicenza, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, on Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, and, in fact, on every one from whom I could obtain any information respecting affairs in general, and those that concerned him personally.

I proceeded to Paris on the 3rd of January, 1814, and during a stay of two days, I saw several persons, and learned from Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely and my friend Gallois, details of the origin of the

disturbance in the Corps Législatif which had led to its dissolution. I will give these details at this place, for they throw a new light on the situation of affairs, and will enable the reader to appreciate what I shall afterwards have to say concerning facts of personal interest to the King.

Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely had been appointed take up to the Corps Législatif the decree for the formation of an Extraordinary Commission, intended to receive communication of the official documents appertaining to the negotiations for peace. At the same time he was commanded to prepare the speech which was to accompany the proposal of the decree. It was desired that the speech should be pacific, and of a nature to obtain the approval of the Corps Législatif for the Government and to produce a favourable impression on the popular mind, which was at that time ardently desirous of anything that might promise peace. The speech was accordingly drawn up in that sense; it declared an explicit intention on the part of the Government to treat for peace, even on conditions that might entail great sacrifices. But though it had been written to some extent from the Emperor's dictation, Regnault thought it ought to be submitted to him before being delivered. He attempted however in vain to obtain an audience; the Emperor, tired by a council which had lasted until late into the night, was sleeping, and

no one would venture to wake him. Time pressed, and the speech was delivered as it had been written.* It produced a great sensation; it contained all that was desired. Each deputy hastened to proclaim the hopes with which it had inspired him, and a marked impression was made on the public. But all this aroused the attention of the Emperor. He asked for the speech, and on reading it he considered that the orator had gone too far. Many phrases displeased him, he asserted that they presented him before inimical foreign powers in a humiliating attitude, and would deprive him of all respect at home. In short, he required several alterations to be made, before he would allow the speech to be printed. Regnault made a few, but they did not satisfy him. The speech was amended by another hand; all the latter part was suppressed, and it was made to conclude with a sentence which was destructive to the hopes inspired by the original text on the previous day.†

The Corps Législatif, finding itself tricked in this fashion, openly expressed its indignation. A stormy debate took place at the ensuing sitting, severe reproaches were addressed to the President,‡ who

* In the sitting of the 21st of December, 1813.

† See this sentence in the *Moniteur* of the 22nd of December, 1813, which contains a dry abstract of Regnault's speech.

‡ The Duke of Massa-Carrara (Regnier, member of the Council of Elders, afterwards, under the Emperor, Councillor of State).

had ventured to meddle with the copy of the speech that Regnault had laid on the table, and by handing it over to the Emperor, prevented any comparison between the discourse as delivered and as printed.

The members of the *Corps Législatif* were therefore very unfavourably disposed, when they proceeded to the nomination of the Commission charged to receive the documents relating to the negotiations, and they selected those persons who were believed to be the most independent of Government influence.*

Communications between the members of this Commission, the Government delegates,† and a deputation from the Senate, were held at the Arch-chancellor's, and after a long discussion, a day was appointed for the hearing of the report to be presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Commission. The task of drawing it up had been conferred on M. Lainé, a barrister from Bordeaux, who had made himself conspicuous among the members of the Commission for his freedom of opinion, and the boldness of his language.

The report, which was read on the appointed day at the Arch-chancellor's, was divided into three parts.

* MM. Lainé, Reynouard, Gallois, Flangergues and Maine de Biran.

† MM. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely and d'Hauterive.

The first was entirely devoted to an exposition of the general state of political affairs, and was worded so as to present the action of the allied Powers towards France in the most favourable light, and consequently to throw all the blame on the head of the French Government, and to attribute all our misfortunes to him alone. The second part set forth the absolute necessity of peace, and formally expressed a desire to secure it at any price. The third was a series of complaints presented to the Emperor, in which the misconduct of the employés of the administration, the annoyances of all kinds that they inflicted on citizens, and the extortion of the generals, were painted in the darkest colours. This statement of grievances proceeded on the assumption that these abuses of authority and their attendant evils were unknown to the Emperor and that it was the duty of the Corps Législatif to acquaint him with them.

Several expressions in the first part greatly offended the delegates from the Government and the Senate, and the whole of the third was still more displeasing to them. They begged the Commission to alter those expressions which must be offensive to the Emperor, and to suppress the third part entirely. They pointed out that it was inopportune to make complaints such as these; that the principal object at the present moment was to show that perfect

unanimity prevailed between the Corps Législatif and the Government, and that both were animated by one will; that nothing was more unlikely to produce this desirable result than a statement of grievances, which, supported by their authority, would excite the population of the interior, and would greatly interfere with the action of the Government in levying the conscription and collecting taxes. These arguments seemed to make an impression on some of the members of the Commission. They promised to make certain alterations; they even held out hopes that the third part should be suppressed. But it would appear that those hopes were only vague and that the Commission held itself in no way bound. The members proceeded on the 29th of December to the Corps Législatif, then sitting.* M. Lainé ascended the tribune, and read the report just as it had been drawn up at first.

M. Lainé was enthusiastically received and loudly applauded. Some members, however, pointed out that the discourse contained many passages which might be read without danger in a private assembly, while their publication would be highly undesirable; but these members were little heeded, and the next day, at the request of the President and contrary to the usual custom, the votes for and against publication were taken, and publication was carried by a

* The sitting was a private one.

large majority * and decreed. The result of the sitting of the 29th of December, and the above particulars, were instantly made known to the Emperor. The Government was alarmed. An Extraordinary Council was held late at night on Wednesday, the 29th. The Ministers and Grand Dignitaries were summoned to it. The question of suspending the Corps Législatif was debated ; but after the disadvantages of such a measure had been weighed, it was rejected, and it was resolved merely to open negotiations with M. Lainé and the most influential members of the Commission, in order to procure a modification of the report, and that it should be expressed in terms not injurious to the Government. Thursday, the 30th, was passed in these negotiations ; certain alterations were agreed to, and it was thought the printing might be proceeded with. Things were in this state on the evening of the 30th, when the Director of the Imperial Printing Establishment, on correcting the proof sheets, saw that, notwithstanding the alterations made during the day, certain passages which struck him very forcibly had escaped the censorship. He took one of the proof sheets to the Minister of Police who was also struck by the same passages, and hastened to show the sheets to the Emperor, who read them with great agitation.†

* 223 votes against 31. The scrutiny of the votes took place on the 30th of December at a public sitting.

† I had an opportunity, subsequently, of seeing the copy

He imagined that he had been tricked, and decided instantly on the most violent measures. The report was withdrawn from publication during the night of 30th–31st of December; the type was broken up, the proof-sheets were burned, and, in the morning, without calling a Council and having conferred only with the few present at his *lever*, the Emperor ordered the Duke of Bassano to draw up and send off a decree by which, on vaguely stated grounds, he adjourned the Corps Législatif.* Meanwhile, as the publication of this decree in the *Moniteur* of the 31st of December, had not been possible, and that it was important to prevent another sitting on that day, a detachment of the Dragoon Guards took possession of the approaches and doors of the Palace of the Corps Législatif early in the morning, and the Members, on presenting themselves, were obliged to turn back. Access was even refused them to their private rooms, and to the library where they might have assembled.

The news spread rapidly through Paris and produced a great sensation. Very free remarks

that had been sent to the Printing house. The third part of the report, containing the grievances, had been suppressed; but the following words had been allowed to remain “l’adversité véridique,”—and speaking of Louis XIV, *that King still called GREAT by posterity*. It seems that this expression and the phrase just quoted had particularly offended the Emperor.

* See this decree in the *Moniteur* of the 1st of January, 1814.

were made about the Emperor, and the funds fell considerably. There was however no disturbance, and unbroken tranquillity prevailed.

On the following day, the first of the year 1814, a large number of the Members of the Corps Législatif came to the Tuileries, and among them were three members of the Committee, Gallois, Flangergues and Maine de Biran. The Emperor spoke long and with great verbosity "He knew," he said, "that the great majority of the Corps Législatif was sound, but it contained within it a Bourbonist party, at the head of which was M. Lainé, who kept up a correspondence with England through M. Desèze." The Emperor added that he was having him watched.

He spoke for nearly three-quarters of an hour. No one made any reply. The crowd dispersed and in the evening all was quiet.

On the following day, M. Lainé, having been informed of the Emperor's imputations upon him, presented himself to the Minister of Police, offered to hand over his papers, and to constitute himself a prisoner, so as to exculpate himself by every possible means from the reproach that had been cast upon him. The Minister told him not to trouble himself, that he ought to know the disposition of the Emperor, who had forgotten all about it, a moment after, and never bore malice.

The matter had ended there, and when I reached

Paris, the impression produced had already faded ; but the effect had been greater in the departments, where popular feeling was even more excited than in the capital. The inhabitants of the provinces were nearer to the enemy ; they looked at things more seriously ; taxation, the evils of war and the conscription, pressed heavily upon them. Moreover, they had not the various sources of amusement which even at that time abounded in that great capital, Paris, where every one is occupied with himself, and neither perceives nor pities the misfortunes of his neighbour.

After I had obtained the foregoing information about an event which had caused us great alarm at Morfontaine, I turned my attention to the King's personal position, and to the means of releasing him as quickly as possible from a state of uncertainty and irresolution that could not be prolonged without danger, and without exposing him to ridicule for his inaction at so critical a time. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, to whom I had confided the object of my mission, was eager in his desire to serve the King. We called together on the Duke of Vicenza, who told us that the Emperor had authorised him to confer with the Duke of Santa Fè, one of the Spanish Ministers, and to treat with him in the interests of such of his countrymen as had embraced the King's cause. "But," added he, "how can this negotiation

be begun? What is its object? How is it possible to explain the true situation of affairs to M. de Santa Fè and our powerlessness to exert any influence over the King whom we are about to restore to Spain? And supposing that, by our proposed treaty with him, we induce him to concede something in favour of the Spanish-French party, what guarantee shall we have for the execution of a clause to which he will only consent with reluctance, and in the hope of evading it? Nor must King Joseph infer from the Emperor's concession on that point* that he recognises his claims as King of Spain. The Emperor has not changed and will not change his mind on this matter. He wishes, no doubt, to have his brother with him; but if he presented himself otherwise than as a French Prince and the first subject of the Empire, he would greatly complicate the position of the Government both abroad and at home. It would be thought that the Emperor still intended to conquer Spain; and the presence of the King, as such, would be an argument against the peaceful views of his Imperial Majesty. If, on the contrary, his brother comes to Paris in the capacity of a Grand Elector and a French Prince, he thereby proclaims his readiness to make every sacrifice to

* The reader has already seen that this request was contained in the King's letter to his brother, of the 29th of December, and which Madame Mère had conveyed to the Emperor.

facilitate peace ; he stands before the nation and before his brother, as having renounced on behalf both of France and himself the crown which he wears."

After this interview, in which the Minister seemed to me to be perfectly reasonable, and in which neither Regnault nor I offered any objections, because, in truth, there were none to make, I saw King Louis, who had just arrived in Paris,* and as I wished to have his opinion on the line of conduct I ought to suggest to his brother Joseph on my return to Morfontaine, I told him all the Duke of Vicenza had said to us. "My opinion," said King Louis, "is that my brother should come here, and remain with the Emperor without waiting for any further explanation. I will tell you what happened to myself when the invasion of Switzerland obliged me to leave my retreat there. I came hither ; I wrote to the Emperor ; I received no answer from him, but, on the third of this month, the Duke of Vicenza paid me a visit. He brought me word from the Emperor that if I came as a French Prince I was welcome, but that I could not be received as King of Holland. I replied to the Minister as follows, "So long as Holland is in the occupation of the enemy I make no claim to the title of King, and I am indifferent to any other. I

* He was staying at his mother's house where I saw him. Madame Mère was present at the interview which I describe.

am here solely as a Frenchman, to share in the present danger and to be useful, so far as I can. If Holland were to fall once more into the power of the Emperor and that he did not restore it to me, my conscience as a King would forbid my remaining in France. If on the contrary, when Peace is made, Holland is ceded to some other sovereign, and that a renunciation on my part becomes necessary for the sanctioning of that portion of the treaty, I shall not withhold it. You may repeat to my brother all I have said."

Having obtained as much information as possible, I returned to Morfontaine in the night, on the 4th January, and reported to the King all I had learned, both of the state of affairs in general, and of those that concerned him personally. I added, "It seems to me that you must not expect further propositions from the Emperor, and I can see nothing but disadvantage in your deferring your return to Paris. By writing as you have written, you have gone too far for your retirement at Morfontaine to be accepted as a proof of modesty and philosophical indifference. To remain here, is in fact, in the opinion of all, your least honourable course, because it seems like a wish to escape from the difficulties, nay, the dangers of the moment. On the other hand by longer delay, you will lose all the merit of the step, if after all you take it. Moreover, supposing that you retain some

hope of obtaining a new crown in compensation for one you now sacrifice, when Peace is made, it is only in Paris that you could carry out such an arrangement, and make it popular by your generosity and disinterestedness at the moment of danger. In short, you ought unhesitatingly to follow the example of your brother, King Louis, whose position is very similar to your own."

These arguments, and still more the force of circumstances which no longer left him any freedom of choice, overcame the King's indecision; he resolved on going to Paris, and on the 6th of January he established himself at the Luxembourg, where he gave me an apartment.

On reaching Paris, Joseph again wrote to the Emperor, but his brother's letter still failed to satisfy him. He sent word that there was too much bombast in it, and that he wished it to be more simple. Shortly afterwards, the Prince of Neûchatel made his appearance at the Luxembourg, as the bearer of the Emperor's final conditions. His interview with the King lasted over two hours; but either from want of will or from want of tact, the envoy irritated instead of soothing the King, and the state of affairs was left more unpromising than ever. The King told me he had decided on giving up everything, and going into complete retirement. I used my utmost endeavours to dissuade him from carry-

ing out this resolution, which was prompted by the generosity of his disposition, that made him think himself bound to the Spaniards who had embraced his cause, and persuaded him that in relinquishing the title of King he would be abandoning their interests, and acting like a coward. While I appreciated his feelings, I did all I could to convince him that by entering into his views, he could serve those interests better than by resisting the Emperor, and I suggested that he should consult the Spanish Ministers themselves, on this point. He agreed to this, and MM. de Santa Fé, Urquijo and d'Almenara having been summoned, a conference took place in presence of the Queen, and was prolonged late into the night. I reproduced the various arguments that I have already rehearsed in my accounts of private conversations with the King. The Spanish Ministers admitted their cogency, the King was at last convinced, and the next morning he wrote the following letter to the Emperor :

“SIRE,

“The invasion of France imposes on every Frenchman the duty of flying to her defence; but to those whom she has raised to the highest rank, belongs especially the glorious prerogative of being the first to defend the throne and the country. As premier French Prince and your first subject, permit

me, Sire, to beg you to accept the offer of my sword and of my counsels. In whatever way you may deign to use them, I shall esteem myself happy if I may contribute to restore that tranquillity and happiness to France, the country to which I owe everything, that is needed by the whole of Europe. Under existing circumstances I can see the perils of my country only; all true Frenchmen must sacrifice every other feeling. You will yet save France, Sire, if all Frenchmen rally round your throne with the same devotion as that with which I offer you my services.

“I am, etc.”

“Paris, January 7, 1814.”

This letter having given satisfaction, the King was received by his brother on the 9th January and had a conference of more than three hours' length with him. On returning to the Luxembourg he received a letter from the Emperor informing him that he had given orders at the Palace that the King should be announced as King Joseph and his wife as Queen Julia, and that they would receive the honours due to their rank. The Emperor also authorised the King to wear the uniform of the Grenadier Guards as worn by himself, and ended his letter by suggesting that, under present circumstances, King Joseph should abstain from wearing any foreign

decoration and appear in public with the order of France only. On the following Sunday, the 16th of January, the Senate, the Courts of Judicature, and all the highest state officials, came in state to the Luxembourg to offer their homage to the King, who was attended by the officers of his household. Count de Jaucourt discharged the duties of First Chamberlain, and resumed his hitherto interrupted service. I returned to the Council of State at the bidding of the Emperor. In short, the interior of the Luxembourg resumed its appearance of eight years before, when Joseph dwelt there as a French Prince and a Grand Elector.

Thus ended a long series of negotiations, which, to my mind, were invested on both sides with too great importance. The terrible crisis that had come upon us should have absorbed every thought, and put an end to all considerations of vanity and ambition. To avoid recurring to a melancholy subject, I will say a few words on the conclusion of matters in Spain.

A few days after his secret interview with his brother of the 28th of November, 1813, the Emperor despatched Count de Laforêt to Valençay. He had appointed him his plenipotentiary, and sent him to treat with the Duke of San Carlos, appointed in like manner by Ferdinand VII. for the restoration of peace between Spain and France. The negotiation

was carried on rapidly, and the treaty was signed on the 11th of December. The crown was restored to Ferdinand without conditions, and with the whole territory of Spain, such as it existed at the peace of Utrecht. By one article, the rank, honours, and property of those Spaniards who had espoused the cause of King Joseph were confirmed to them, and those who wished to leave the country were allowed a space of ten years in which to sell their estates. Another article reserved to Frenchmen and Italians the enjoyment of property in Spain which had belonged to them before the war, but there was no positive stipulation in favour of those who, during the domination of France, had purchased the national property put up for sale by King Joseph.

After the ratification of the treaty, Ferdinand left Valençay, and set out for Spain. How the stipulations were carried out in the sequel, and how Spain fared under the King we sent back to her, are matters of history. The war waged by the Emperor on that unhappy country and the peace he bestowed on her, were equally fatal. How much blood had been lavished, how much treasure had been wasted, to obtain this shameful result! On the other hand, as might easily be foreseen, the Emperor reaped none of the advantages he had hoped to secure by the transaction. Neither the English nor the Cortes considered themselves bound by the treaty of Valençay ;

hostilities continued in the Pyrenees, and the war was carried on in that part of France after it had been concluded in every other.

Our home affairs were in a frightful state in January 1814. The enemy had reached to the very heart of France; everywhere our enfeebled armies retreated before him. The Government attempted in vain to arm the people and organise a peasant warfare. A few districts of the Lower Rhine and the Vosges answered to the appeal, but the other departments, whether occupied by the enemy or merely threatened, did not follow their patriotic example. The Senators and Councillors of State who had been despatched to the frontier fortresses, fled from them and returned in haste to Paris. The English had marched into Bordeaux, where the mayor, M. Lynch, emboldened by their presence, had declared for the Bourbons. The King of Naples had deserted the French flag, thus offering the last insult to the Emperor. The negotiations at Châtillon-sur-Seine were assuming a shape which forbade any hope of a favourable issue, the Duke of Vicenza had not been admitted to them without difficulty. Far from dictating in the name of the Conqueror as in former days, he daily received insulting notes, and propositions too humiliating to be consented to, which, if accepted, would probably have been retracted afterwards. There was no wish to treat with the Emperor, but only a desire to over-

throw him, and his utter ruin was clearly the object aimed at by the negotiators and their masters.

In this extremity a last effort of French arms became our only resource, and the soldiers' confidence in the genius and good fortune of the Emperor was such, that the army was persuaded that the two combined might yet save the Empire. The troops were however alarmed at the prolonged sojourn of the Emperor in his capital, when his presence was so necessary to strengthen and guide the valour of this handful of warriors, the only hope of their country, and who had remained faithful to her. Moments were precious, and there were none to lose. The Emperor felt this, and only delayed his departure in order to regulate the form of Government during his absence. Provisions were made for this on the 21st of January in an Extraordinary Council. The Empress Marie Louise was named Regent, and was to reside in Paris with the King of Rome. King Joseph and Cambacérès, the Archchancellor, were appointed Councillors to the Empress. The first was to preside on important occasions over the Senate and the State Council, which he had the right of convening extraordinarily whenever he should deem it necessary. These preliminaries having been arranged, the Emperor held a grand reception for the last time on Sunday, the 23rd of January. I was there in attendance on the King. All the officers of

the newly organised Parisian National Guards were assembled in the Salle des Maréchaux. The Emperor appeared accompanied by the Empress and the King of Rome. He presented them both to his officers, asking them to watch over the safety of what was dearest to him in the world, and repeated several times, "You will answer for them, will you not? You will defend them?" He uttered these words many times, with a warmth of feeling which seemed to make a deep impression on his hearers. There was a moment of enthusiasm and cries of "Vive l'Empereur! vive l'Impératrice! vive le roi de Rome!" were heard on all sides. In his ardent address, the Emperor did not reveal any hope of peace. His whole speech, on the contrary, seemed to intimate a possibility that the enemy might soon arrive before the walls of Paris, entrusted to the defence of the National Guard. On returning to the drawing-rooms, he found there Senators, Councillors of State, Magistrates, in short, a numerous Court. He spoke a great deal and to very many persons, and without disguising the dangers pressing on us on all sides, he appealed to our generosity to help him to withstand the storm, and received from those present assurances of devotion which were soon belied. But he was fated to be deceived until the last moment, and to believe protestations of attachment to be sincere, that were but well-turned compliments from lips long accus-

tomed to flattery. As for me I was less pre-occupied; there was no occasion for hypocrisy towards me, and I perceived by everything that I saw and heard how changed was this Court, formerly so splendid and yet so subservient. I recollected the brilliant period following on the birth of the King of Rome and compared it with the present. Where were the ambassadors from every nation, where the princes, the courtier kings, who, at a period so recent and yet so different, filled these halls and bowed before this now tottering throne? All the pomp of those days had disappeared; of all that crowd of strangers there remained but a few Italian or German Councillors of State, summoned from the departments that had been annexed to France, and who, while their countries were returning to the possession of their ancient rulers, still represented that gigantic association of different nationalities already irretrievably shattered by war. But what struck me most of all was the language of the French Senators. Never had it been more obsequious. M. de Laplace, among others, speaking to me of the position of affairs, dwelt with such lively interest and such profound emotion on his attachment to and confidence in the Emperor, and such indignation on the rumoured proclamation in favour of the Bourbons, that I might well have believed the ancient dynasty to have no more determined

Blois with regard to the events that had taken place in Paris and at Fontainebleau—On the 7th of April a letter from the Duke of Bassano informs the Regency of the abdication of Napoleon—The Author is sent to Paris to obtain passports for the members of the family assembled at Blois and reaches the capital—Difficulties in fulfilling his mission—He at last obtains the passports, which he sends to King Joseph at Orleans, who is greatly irritated at a clause in them—The Author is excluded from the Council of State, goes into retirement, and establishes himself and family on an estate near Paris.

DURING the two months which elapsed between the opening of this campaign and the catastrophe that closed it, I remained in Paris, a prey to the alternate hope and fear awakened by the contradictory accounts which reached us from the army. I was separated from all I loved—my son-in-law, General Jamin, major of the mounted grenadiers of the Imperial guard, was sharing the dangers of the campaign, at the head of that famous regiment; my son and my nephew his aides-de-camp, had joined him; my wife and daughter were at Mayenne with the family of my son-in-law. Deprived of all domestic consolation, I lived at the Luxembourg, in the midst of an agitation incessantly kept up by the arrival of couriers, by the visits of the ministers and principal officers of State, who came for orders or advice to that palace, for it had become in some sort the headquarters of the Government. There was not an interval of repose, nor a day unmarked by some event,

sometimes reassuring, at other times and more often disastrous. Such was my life during those two months. I do not however intend to describe it in detail. I will confine myself to circumstances, which may throw some light on the events of that terrible period.

After the bloody combat of Brienne, when the bold and skilful manœuvres of the Emperor had resulted in the brilliant successes of Champaubert, Montmirail and Montereau, Napoleon regained his habitual confidence in his destiny. He once more beheld himself as the conqueror of Europe, now leagued against him, and he wrote to his brother, that, when crossing the pass of Montereau, where he lost much precious time, he was nearer to Vienna than the Austrians then were to Paris.

It was while dazzled with this success that he received the sketch of the treaty of the preliminaries of peace given to the Duke of Vicenza by the Plenipotentiaries of the allies, assembled at the Congress of Berlin.

The principal conditions are as follows :

France shall give up Belgium and all conquests made since 1792.

The Emperor shall abandon the titles of King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of the Swiss Leagues, and his son that of King of Rome.

Spain shall belong to Ferdinand VII.,

Holland shall be given to a Prince of the House of Orange with an increase of territory.

Italy shall be given up to independent Princes.

England shall retain Malta, but abandon the American colonies, and the French establishments in India, as being commercial establishments. She shall retain the islands of France * and of Bourbon. All strongholds in the lands ceded by France, as well as in those still in her power on the Oder and the Elbe shall be given up within a very short period.

The Allies will likewise retain as surety, until the signing of a definitive peace, the strongholds of Huningen, Belfort and Besançon.

This draft of a treaty was accompanied by a Note of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers dated the 2nd of March. The Emperor sent it to King Joseph with all previously received papers relating to the negotiation.†

In an accompanying letter the Emperor ordered that everything should be communicated to an Extraordinary Council, presided over by the Empress-

* Mauritius.

† See in the *Moniteur* of the 7th of March, 1814, the two decrees of the 5th of the same month which prove that Napoleon had abandoned all idea of peace, and sought a war of extermination.

Regent, and composed of the Princes, Ministers of Departments, Ministers of State and Presidents of the section of the State Council. "But," wrote he, "it is only formal opinion I ask for—my resolution is taken—I will never accept a treaty which I regard as a disgraceful capitulation. I only wish to know what will be the sentiments of those famous Councillors on the reading of the propositions and the accompanying documents." Then he added that he had written to Prince Schwarzenberg by the Prince of Neuchâtel, to announce to him his determination to concede nothing that concerned the honour of France or his own; also that he had himself written a long letter to the Emperor, his father-in-law, pointing out the importance of the success he had just obtained, and while assuring him that he would soon be at the head of a larger army than Austria's, informing him that 200,000 men would defend Paris, and that even should the capital be taken, France would never consent to such humiliating conditions.

The meeting of the Council and the opinion it might pronounce were therefore really useless, since the negotiations were broken off beforehand. It nevertheless assembled on the 3rd of March at five in the evening. It was unanimous in accepting the treaty, such as the Allies proposed; and in fact, hard as the conditions were, they ought to have been

accepted, if, which I cannot yet believe, they were the sincere and final proposals of the Powers. The treaty, rigorous as it was, maintained the established government of France; it sanctioned the existence of the Emperor and that of the Imperial Family. England recognised the new dynasty, which was an advantage none of the previous transactions had given Napoleon. There was no question of the Bourbons who, appeared to be altogether abandoned. This was conceding a great deal to the Emperor, who was more considered in this arrangement than France herself. Time might produce discord among the allied Powers; the very division of the spoils of the Empire must quickly bring about dissensions, and the Emperor would be skilful enough to profit by their disunion, and partly to regain what he now lost by this treaty. Lastly, what he had most reason to fear was the disorganisation that menaced the social body; it still existed; but if peace was deferred, it would perhaps be dissolved, and France might find herself at the discretion of a conqueror unchecked by any treaty.

The decisions of the Council were sent to the Emperor by the King, who added to them his own entreaties to induce his brother to change his course of action. He did not hide from him how little the nation desired war, and that he risked losing every thing by refusing peace, at any price even, since peace

alone could win back for him popular favour and save him from his fate.*

But, had the Emperor been sufficiently convinced of the truth of these observations, to be willing to abandon the system he was pursuing, he had now gone too far to retrace his steps. Besides, the moment had passed, and the chances of war, in spite of all the glory we had acquired by our last engagements, had again turned against us. Our very victories took from us the means of victory. No sooner did the Emperor shut the road to the capital to one body of the enemy's army, than another appeared in an opposite direction. The Prince Royal of Sweden penetrated into Belgium at the head of 45,000 men, and there was no longer any obstacle to impede his march on Paris. On the other hand, notwithstanding all the Emperor had written to his father-in-law as to the large forces assembled for the defence of the capital, the lie was promptly given to this exaggeration of our resources by information which the enemy received from Paris. Reducing those resources to their real number, there were not troops enough to stop Blucher's army, which, while the Emperor was manœuvring in order to fall on the rear of Schwarzenberg's force, could easily advance on the capital from Meaux. This

* In a letter of the 1st of March to the Emperor, the King had drawn a picture of the situation of France as true as it was vigorous, and of her urgent need for peace. The reader will find the letter in the Appendix to this chapter.

intelligence reached the enemy from sources too well informed not to be completely trustworthy.

There existed in Paris at this time several associated bodies, whose members, foreseeing the coming fall of the Emperor, and anxious to hasten it, did not hesitate to deliver up their country to the enemy for the sake of gratifying their personal enmity. M. de Talleyrand headed the most active of these societies. He had been ill-used by the Emperor, and had borne ill-treatment without showing on his imperturbable countenance the least sign of resentment, either in Napoleon's presence or in that of King Joseph, whom he sometimes visited at the Luxembourg; and now the opportunity of revenging himself was too favourable to be let slip, and the hope of regaining power by bringing back the Bourbons—a hope that was speedily crushed—animated him with all the sentiments of enmity and ambition of which a cold heart can be capable. M. de Jaucourt, who was very intimate with M. de Talleyrand, and very scrupulous in his attendance on King Joseph, was his emissary. Being admitted to intimacy at the Luxembourg in his capacity of First Chamberlain, he picked up all the news that arrived, and carried it to M. de Talleyrand, who thus knowing the real state of affairs was enabled to regulate his own conduct accordingly. It was in this society to which the Abbé Montesquiou, Baron

Louis, and some others belonged, that a plan for the establishment of a provisional government, or of a regency, which was to be substituted for that of the Empress if she left Paris, was formed; and even the project of a new Constitution. I learned the existence of this species of committee by a purely personal occurrence. The Minister of Police, in a conversation with King Joseph on the 15th of March, told him that, among other papers received from the Emperor, there was one in which I was named as occupying myself with the projects of a provisional government to be substituted for that established by the Emperor before his departure for the army. Nothing could be more unfounded, as I easily proved to the Duke of Bovigo, whom I went to see the same day. But the origin of this ridiculous denunciation was as follows. My brother, Colonel Miot, equerry to King Joseph, was at the Luxembourg, and it often happened that M. de Jaucourt, hearing of the arrival of a courier, or the rumour of some event, would write to him during the day to know the truth. My brother answered these notes, which were apparently dictated by the greatest interest in the Emperor's cause, and his replies were all taken to M. de Talleyrand. Thus my name came to be mentioned in this particular committee, in support of the statements made there by M. de Jaucourt. From the identity of name, the spy, who kept the police informed of

what passed in the committee, had concluded that I was the person in question, and had associated me in his reports with this culpably-obtained information. Thus I heard of it, and I was not surprised; the catastrophe which was to close the drama was drawing near; and the event proved that M. de Talleyrand was prepared for it, and that it could not take him unawares.

By what I have just related, it is easy to judge that the Emperor could count on little aid from the capital, and still less on public opinion. Partial confidences, artful insinuations, hopes and even promises of gain, made with authority, daily detached influential members of the Senate and Council of State from the Emperor's cause, and examples of devotion and fidelity became rarer every day.*

* In the midst of this nearly universal defection, it is consoling to find an honourable exception in the case of Carnot. Although long set aside from public affairs, and deprived of the honour due to his rank and talents, when the moment of danger came he forgot all this injustice, and nobly offered his services to him of whom he had so much reason to complain. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of recalling in this place the letter he wrote to the Emperor on the 24th of January, 1814:

“SIRE,

“While success attended your arms, I refrained from offering to your Majesty services which I could not think would be agreeable to you.

“But now, Sire, that misfortune tries your constancy, I no longer hesitate to offer you the feeble resources that remain to

We may judge from this whether the enemy was not kept well informed, and whether he could any longer hesitate to march on Paris! The only support remaining to Napoleon's cause was the presence of the Empress in Paris. So long as she stayed there, his party might still defend itself, and it was to be presumed that her father, finding her on the throne where he had consented to place her, would not thrust her off it, nor would he with his own hands drive her from the palace she inhabited. But by a singular fatality the Emperor had especially enjoined, that if the enemy entered Paris, the Empress and his son were to leave it.*

me. The strength of an old man of sixty is doubtless little, but I thought that the example of an old soldier, whose patriotic sentiments are well known, might bring back many wavering partisans to your eagles, who might otherwise be persuaded to forsake them.

"Sire, there is yet time to bring about a glorious peace, and to regain the love of a great nation."

The defence of Antwerp was confided to General Carnot. How he acquitted himself is well known; he neither capitulated, nor gave up the town until after the Emperor's abdication. In vain the Prince Royal of Sweden tried to open negotiations with him "in the name," as he wrote in his letter, "of their ancient friendship." "I was the friend," replied Carnot, "of the French General Bernadotte, but I am the enemy of the foreign Prince who bears arms against my country."

* I never saw the letter which contained this order, but there appears to be no doubt that it existed. It will be seen what influence it exercised over the decisions of the Council of Regency.

Thus then the last anchor of safety was broken. In the meanwhile events progressed rapidly to a climax. The news of the rupture of the congress of Châtillon reached Paris on the 24th of March, and spread consternation among all those who still hoped to preserve peace. The Duke of Vicenza, in reply to the project of preliminaries of peace, of which I have already spoken, presented a counter project, which appeared to be so opposed to the views and pretensions of the Allied Powers, that their ministers refused even to discuss it. Public funds in Paris fell below 48. Sadness and discouragement spread through all ranks; but at the same time intrigues and plots multiplied. All ambitious persons were in agitation, seeking to make arrangements with the new government. After the news of the rupture of negotiations, Paris remained for many days in complete ignorance of what was taking place at the Emperor's headquarters; it was afterwards known that, after a bloody and disastrous engagement at Laon on the 9th of March, and a success gained on the 13th over the Russian general Saint-Priest, the Emperor had fallen on the rear of the enemy and was in movement at a great distance from Paris.* But this bold stroke, which

* According to a letter of the 25th of March, received at the Luxembourg on the 27th, the Emperor was on that day at Doulevant near Joinville.

had intercepted the enemy's line of communication with the Rhine, and had caused both baggage and prisoners to fall into the hands of the French, did not produce the chief result which was expected by the Emperor, the diversion of the attention of the enemy, or at least the retarding of his march on Paris. The enemy's army combined with that of Blucher, with the Russian Imperial Guard, the Royal Prussian Guard, and the greater part of the army of Prince Schwarzenberg, continued its march across the basin of the Marne, defeated at la Fère Champenoise, the Marshal Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, who were too inferior in numbers to resist, and then, having crossed the Marne at Trilleport, advanced by Meaux and Claye on Paris. In consequence of this movement General Compans had evacuated Meaux, and placed himself between Romainville and La Villette, under the walls of the city. After this defeat, the two Marshals had retired on Provins, which they quitted to forced marches in order to defend the capital.

Such was the state of affairs on the morning of Monday, the 28th of March, and as it was doubtful whether the enemy could be prevented from entering Paris, the day was passed in concerting measures for the safety of the Empress and the King of Rome. An Extraordinary Council of Regency was assembled at eight in the evening, and lasted far into the night.

Many were of opinion that neither one nor the other should quit Paris, and this advice was most unquestionably the best. Those who gave it said with reason that the departure of these two personages would paralyse the means of defence, and at the same time destroy all hopes of opening negotiations, and obtaining such terms as might at least save the existence of the Government. The Empress, I have been told, was herself inclined to stay, and was not in the least alarmed at the prospect of what might happen. But Cambacérès, who was naturally timid, and who was besides anxious to place his fortune in safety, was against this course. Finally, King Jerome insisted strongly on the Emperor's letter which decided the question, commanding that in no case were his wife and son to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy; and opinions came definitely round to the side of obeying the Emperor's orders. It was therefore determined that the Empress, the King of Rome, and a few persons of the Imperial family, should leave Paris the next day for Blois, by the road to Chartres, and that the Archchancellor, as Councillor, and the Duke of Cadore, as Secretary of State for the Regency should follow the Empress. When I was informed by the King of the result of the Council I could not disguise from him my disapprobation. But although it was impossible to alter the dangerous decision, I

tried to show him how important it was, that from the moment the heads of the Government left Paris, all subordinate authorities who might arrogate to themselves the right of stipulating or making terms, such as the Council of State, the Senate and the Court of Cassation, should also depart; and there should only remain in the capital the magistrates holding municipal functions, who could in no case treat, except concerning the private interests of the inhabitants of Paris. The King answered that, so soon as the necessity of capitulating should become obvious—if indeed such an extremity awaited us—the Regency would give orders to convene the State Bodies of which I spoke, and that, besides, military authority alone would be charged to treat with the enemy, without the concurrence of any political body. This reply was not completely satisfactory, for with the enemy, the authorities, whose banishment I asked for, could still independently of negotiations, take general measures for the interior, which might affect the actual system of government or even hand over the power to others. But to induce the King to enter into my views, it would have been necessary to convince him, and make him see the danger as it was. And this I could not do. Nothing that I proposed was done, or if it was done, it was done too late to prevent the result which I had apprehended.

On the morning of the 29th, King Joseph made me read a proclamation, in which he announced to the inhabitants of Paris, that one of the enemy's columns was advancing by Meaux, but that it was followed by the victorious army of the Emperor, and he (the King) promised to remain with the the National Guard, and to defend, with the aid of the citizens, the objects most dear to their hearts. Although the style of the proclamation was rather pompous, and that I should have preferred its being more simple; although in my eyes it had the fault of disguising the extent of the danger, and awakening hopes of help on which the people could not count, yet, since it contained an expression of generous sentiments, and there was no time for amendments, I, on the whole, approved of it. The proclamation was posted up, and at first it produced a good effect. But when the public heard of the departure of the Empress, and of the King of Rome, this good effect was done away with, and all confidence in the promises which it contained was lost.

After his proclamation had been posted up, the King accompanied by his brother Jerome, rode out to make a reconnaissance on the road to Claye. The enemy had not attacked during the night, but he was ever drawing nearer, and our out-posts retired before him. In the evening the junction

of the troops of the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa was effected, and the positions to the north and east of the city were occupied.

The two marshals defended the ground situated between Charenton and Romainville; General Compans was placed between Romainville and la Villette, and General Ormone between Romainville and Montmartre. During the day there had been a great deal to be done at the Luxembourg in the way of packing up and getting carriages. Very few persons had gone there; the palace was deserted. I did not see M. de Jaucourt, and his absence was an evil omen. A courier arrived towards evening, and informed us that on the 28th of March the Emperor was at Troyes, and that he would soon be at Fontainebleau. This news was the death blow to all our hopes. The Emperor was too far to aid us on the morrow, and that morrow would be the fatal day.

I had retired to take a few minutes' repose when I was summoned to the King's presence. It was three in the morning (30th of March). He told me all was prepared for the departure of his wife and children, and that, should nothing favourable occur to change his resolution, they would set off before noon for Rambouillet, where they would sleep, and from thence join the Empress at Chartres where she would arrive in the course of the day. He proposed

that I should profit by this opportunity of leaving Paris, adding that if the offer pleased me, he would give orders that a suitable place should be reserved for me in the carriages. I replied that I did not think I ought to quit Paris, so long as the Council of State, of which I was a member, remained there ; that as I could not foresee whether circumstances would render a Council necessary, I ought not to expose myself by my absence to the suspicion of having thought of my own safety rather than of the obligation of fulfilling my duties. " Besides," I added, " your Majesty does not think of leaving Paris, and when you are forced into doing so, the principal political bodies of the state will doubtless be called to accompany the Government, and I shall not hesitate to obey such a summons. But, until then, my place is here, and I will not incur the just reproach of having deserted it." I could perceive that this reply and the resolution it expressed did not please King Joseph. However, he did not insist, and soon after leaving him I saw him mounting his horse. The last thing he said to me was that his headquarters would be at the telegraph hill at Montmartre, and that despatches and couriers were to be sent on to him there. He authorised me to open letters requiring an immediate reply, which I was if possible to give.

I then went to the Queen's room. She received

me, although she had not yet risen. She declared she would not leave Paris, that she had received no formal order to do so, and that until she did she would not go. Besides, she seemed to me to disapprove of the determination come to on the evening of the 28th, and told me that the Empress, whom she had seen on the preceding day, had shown the greatest repugnance to leaving Paris. On the whole, I was convinced from this interview, that the true situation had been better understood by the women than by the men, and that their natural tact had shown them what would be really conducive to the interests of their family. They reckoned on the influence that their presence would have exercised on the conquerors, and particularly on the chivalrous character of the Emperor Alexander, and they were not mistaken. It is certain—at least I think so—that had the Empress remained at Paris she would have saved her son from his fate, perhaps even her husband; but destiny willed it otherwise.

The enemy began the attack at five in the morning. The first roar of the cannon spread terror in the northern parts of the city, and many of my friends came to seek a refuge, with me, in the Luxembourg. A few persons of the King's party, also came to ask for news. Among the number was M. Andrieux, one of our most elegant poets and a celebrated man of letters. I shall never

forget that as he entered, he repeated these touching lines of Homer, lines which Scipio had recited centuries before, when weeping over the misfortunes of Carthage :

Ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλόγη Ἴλιος ἱρή,
καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.*

And, without weakness, we indeed had occasion to weep. At ten o'clock the King sent General Espert with an order to the Queen to set out immediately with her children. Her sister the Princess Royal of Sweden was with her when this order arrived, and their parting was an affecting scene. By mid-day, the Luxembourg was deserted ; every one had fled, and the most profound silence reigned there, where lately all had been so full of life.†

Meanwhile, the noise of the cannon and musketry continued. The most terrible rumours were in circulation, but no certain intelligence was to be had. At one o'clock General Dejean, son of the senator of the same name, came to the palace. He found no one but myself with whom he could speak ; all the other officials of the household had either disappeared or followed the Queen. He told me that the Emperor had arrived at Fontainebleau on the evening

* *Iliad*, 4th book v. 164.

† The reader will be reminded by this passage of the opening scene of Count Miot's narrative, when he witnessed the desertion of Versailles. These were two strange experiences in a life.—
(Translators.)

of the preceding day that a portion of his guard was with him, and that if Paris could hold out for the day—that is to say the day then passing—the Emperor would most assuredly be under the walls of Paris on the next, and in a position to defend the city. I could not do otherwise than tell him where the King's headquarters were, and beg him to go there as quickly as possible since his news might have great influence. He went, but I do not know whether he reached his destination, or fulfilled the mission with which he was charged. So soon as General Dejean left me I went to visit my brother-in-law, M. Lacroix, who occupied apartments in the Rue de Vaugirard in the house of Count Boulay (of the Meurthe), President of the Section of Legislation of the Council of State, and while I was there a courier in the livery of Count Molé, Grand Judge, arrived. This courier brought orders to the Grand Dignitaries and Grand Officers of the Empire, to the Ministers, and to all the Members of the Senate and State Council, to leave Paris immediately and join the Empress at Chartres. Very few obeyed this order, and among those who refused the greater number gave no reason for so doing. A few, however, sent letters of excuse to the King, which were brought to me at the Luxembourg. Among others was that of M. de Fontanes, alleging reasons of health, but protesting his readiness to obey so soon as he

should be better. I heard nothing of M. de Jaucourt, but I was told that M. de Talleyrand had started, but had been stopped at the barrier by the National Guard, and forced to return to his house. For my own part, I did not hesitate as to what I should do. Having collected all the papers I had received during the day, I and M. Boulay (de la Meurthe) entered a carriage at five in the afternoon, and left Paris by the Vaugirard barrier without encountering any obstacle.

The road along the left bank of the Seine was quite free. The cannon had ceased to roar, and the calm which surrounded us contrasted strangely with the trouble we had left behind. The image and the noise of war faded away. But on reaching Sèvres, we found the highway blocked up with carriages and detachments of different corps, which had evacuated Paris, and were retiring rapidly on Versailles. In the latter town the confusion was great, and we had much trouble in getting horses to continue our journey. At Versailles we heard that King Joseph and King Jerome had arrived there on horseback at about half-past four in the afternoon, and that they had gone on a few minutes later to Rambouillet. We gathered no further details; we could only conclude from this information, and the cessation of the firing, that some arrangement had been come to between the enemies, and probably a

capitulation signed. At last, after seven hours on the road, we reached Rambouillet at midnight, and here I found the equipages which had brought Queen Julia ; and as the horses could go no farther, she had been obliged to take the diligence on to Chartres, to join the Empress, who had arrived there on the 30th. At Rambouillet I parted from M. du Boulay, my brother procured me a place in one of the Queen's carriages, and I reached Chartres on the 31st of March, overwhelmed with fatigue both of body and mind. The King, whom I found there, received me rather coldly, and this was the first time during our long and intimate friendship that he showed himself ill-disposed towards me. He appeared angry that I had not consented to leave Paris in the morning as he had proposed. I think however there was no solid ground of objection to the motives that had determined my refusal, but on this I did not insist ; in the situation in which we found ourselves, ill-temper was quite excusable, and it was easy to find fault with each other's conduct, without one being more in the right than the other. I was at the end of my journey, and with the Regency as I had been commanded. I had done my duty ; the rest was beyond me.

We remained only one day at Chartres. On the 1st of April we went to Chateaudun, and slept there that night, and the next day we reached Blois, where

the Empress had arrived the day before, as well as the Archchancellor and the other Great Officers of State, who had left Paris with her on the 29th of March. She established the seat of government in that town, assembled the ministers, held councils, and published a proclamation to encourage her partisans. How vain were all such efforts! The Government lasted but a few days. I cannot, however, pass in silence over the part played by the various persons called together for the moment at Blois.

The Emperor's three brothers were, next to the Empress, those who, on account of their position, exercised the greatest influence on public affairs; but King Jerome showed the most energy. His natural hastiness of temper was disliked by the Empress whom he often annoyed.

King Joseph was calmer and more dignified, although he understood better than the others the inextricable difficulties in which he was entangled. As for King Louis, either from philosophy or resignation, he held himself quite aloof, and appeared to think only of his religious duties, for we were then in Easter week.

In the second rank was the Archchancellor. In accordance with his usual habits, he had surrounded himself with the etiquette of his palace in Paris. From early morning he gave audiences, attired in his brilliant uniform and with all his decorations.

And as the streets of Blois are too steep for carriages, he went to visit the Empress and the Princes in a sedan-chair.

Among the ministers was Count Molé, Grand Judge, Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior, and the Duke of Feltre, Minister of War.*

Among the Ministers of State was Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely, who had just returned very ill satisfied with a mission that the Empress had sent him on to her father at Dijon, Baron Costaz and myself. Many others who had left Paris, but who had been unable to reach Blois, remained at Orleans. Among the number was Count Boulay, with whom I had travelled as far as Rambouillet. We, however, remained unemployed and were not summoned to attend a single council.

Any one else at all remarkable belonged to the Court of the Empress and King of Rome. Here was also the Baron de la Bouillerie, treasurer to the Empress, who rode at the head of a string of waggons, full of the treasures carried off from the cellars of the Tuileries, and who boasted at that time that he had preserved them for their rightful owner.

I did not see a single member of the Senate. The number of administrators and ministers, small as it was, diminished instead of increasing. During many

* These were the only ministers I had occasion to see at Blois. I, however, met Count Mollien at Chartres.

days we remained in ignorance of what was passing in Paris, the Empress's Government having no official correspondence with the capital. We knew only that the Emperor was still at Fontainebleau; but we did not know what had passed between him and the Allies. Had he come to terms? was he marching at the head of his army to regain his capital? Such were the questions men asked each other all through the day, and none could give an answer. However it was considered certain that Paris was occupied by the enemy, in consequence of the capitulation, which King Joseph, when leaving the army on the 30th of March, had authorised the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa to negotiate and conclude.

In the hope of clearing up our uncertainty respecting the true state of affairs, King Joseph went on the 4th of April, at two in the afternoon, to join the Emperor at Fontainebleau. At the same time measures were taken to transport the Empress and all her suite to Orleans, where she would be nearer her husband; but these plans were not carried out. Hostile bands occupied the road between Orleans and Fontainebleau, and the King was obliged to return to Blois on the morning of the 5th. The project of taking the Empress to Orleans was likewise given up; it was even proposed to take her still farther away.* The King's return, this change

* It was proposed that she should go to Tours.

of plans as to the sojourn or departure of the Empress, the misunderstanding existing—according to town talk—between herself and her brothers-in-law, heightened the alarm of those persons then at Blois, and many among them, already thinking of throwing up the game, no longer appeared, or began to make arrangements for returning to Paris.

The 6th of April went by in these alternations of hopes and fears. We heard that the Princess of Neûchatel, who was then at Chambord,* had received good news, and an aide-de-camp of King Jerome was at once sent to her; he brought back a note in these words; “We have an armistice of forty-eight hours which will result in peace.” We slept well on this news. But on the 7th of April what a change of scene! what a turn of Fortune’s wheel!

King Joseph summoned me to his presence towards mid-day. I found with him his two brothers, his mother, his wife and his two daughters. A table was strewn with papers. He gave me several and told me to read them. One was a letter from the Duke of Bassano, written at Fontainebleau on the 6th of April, two memoranda were attached to this. The minister expressed in a few lines the deep grief with which he fulfilled the sad duties imposed on him. Then, without any details of preceding events, he addressed to the King copies of

* Chambord is near Blois, on the left bank of the Loire.

the two memoranda. The first was written in the following terms :

“The Emperor Napoleon, being informed that he is the sole obstacle to the pacification of Europe, offers to abdicate, and even to lay down his life if necessary ; but he considers that the succession should be preserved in his family, and his dynasty maintained, for its existence is indispensable to the welfare of France.”*

The second bore the singular title of “verbal note” and appeared to be a reply to the preceding paper, or rather a sort of ultimatum dictated at the close of a negotiation. It was as follows :

“The Allied Powers, wishing to prove that all animosity on their part ended at the moment when peace was established, and desiring to treat the Emperor Napoleon with due consideration, since his name will occupy a place in history, have agreed to cede to him the entire possession of the island of Elba with a revenue of six millions of francs, three millions for himself and three millions to be divided between his three brothers, Joseph, Louis and Jerome, and his sisters Eliza and Pauline, and Queen Hortense, who will be considered as a sister on account of her position with respect to her husband.”

* See in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of April, 1814, the final act of abdication of the 11th. Everything relating to the dynasty has been suppressed.

I cannot express my feelings on reading these documents, so extraordinary in matter and in form, under the very eyes of those whom they struck as with a thunderbolt. For, although the Duke of Bassano added nothing to this communication, it appeared certain that the abdication had taken place ;* and from the fact that the Allied Powers decreed the fate of the Emperor's family, it was also evident that the dynasty was overthrown, and all hope lost. Thus then, I was a spectator of the close of this great tragedy, and mingled with the secret horror with which that terrible stroke of fortune filled me, was a profound pity for the victims of the catastrophe. I confess that bitter tears rose to my eyes, and I forgot in a moment every cause of irritation in commiseration for so great a misfortune, and in the hopes of finding means to soften it.

The Emperor left his family without counsel or commands. He did not request any of his brothers to follow him, but all the members of the Imperial family then at Blois were terribly alarmed lest the Allied Powers should impose on them also the obligation of living in the island of Elba, and should give them the revenues assigned to them on that condition only. This appeared to them the most imminent danger they had to fear, and consequently the one to

* It took place a few days later, on account of the form being changed, as I have just explained.

be most urgently guarded against. It was therefore resolved that I should go to Paris, to procure passports, so that each one might retire to some part of Switzerland or Germany. In the influence of the Princess of Sweden was their chief hope for the success of this negotiation. Nevertheless, King Joseph gave me a letter for M. de Talleyrand, and King Louis, one for Prince Schwarzenberg, with whom he was on friendly terms. Finally, the Queen gave me a private letter for M. de Jaucourt. She said in giving it to me that she relied very much on his friendship, and did not fear to put it to the proof.*

The Duke of Feltre was next summoned, and he undertook to provide me with a passport, and at the same time he gave me a letter for his wife. This I promised should reach her. M. de la Bouillerie was also summoned, as it was indispensable to inform him of what had occurred, and he was now sparing in his professions of attachment—no doubt the Emperor's cause seemed to him hopeless, and he knew he possessed many ways of righting himself with the government which should succeed to the vanished empire.

* By the Paris newspapers, received at the same time as the Duke of Bassano's letter, we had heard of the formation of a Provisional Government, of which M. de Talleyrand was president, and M. de Jaucourt a member.

I started at eleven at night on the 7th of April, and there I was on the road to Paris with no other protection than a passport from the Duke of Feltre, who was at that time in bad odour. However, in spite of the alarm with which people at Orleans regarded my journey, I arrived without any adventures at the enemy's outposts, which I found two miles and a half on the Orleans side of Étampes. Here my carriage was stopped for a moment; but on my declaration that I was an inhabitant of Paris returning home, I was allowed to pass without any difficulty. I did not even deem it advisable to show my passport, which might have aroused suspicion, and I reached Paris on the evening of the 6th of April, without having made use of it. I had met with no obstacle except the difficulty of procuring post-horses.

The aspect of Paris was entirely changed. Soldiers of every nation and tongue crowded the streets. In the hats of the men I noticed white cockades, and the women wore bunches of lilies in their hair; everything that could have recalled the Emperor's power was effaced; the statue on the top of the column of the Place Vendôme was thrown down; the tricolour flag which had floated for more than twenty-five years over the Tuileries was removed. On the 2nd of April, the Senate had pronounced the deposition of the Emperor, and already

scarcely a letter of his name remained on the public monuments—his name, who ten days before had filled the city with trophies of his glory! The Senate, so unwisely left behind in Paris, had put the time to profit. A Constitution, improvised within four days, and by which the Senators took care that they themselves should be well repaid, by hereditary power and by endowments for the services they had rendered the Bourbons, was the laughing stock of every one. A proclamation dated from Hartwell, and posted on the walls of Paris, and which the Provisional Government had been obliged to disown, had raised alarm among the purchasers of national property.* Precipitation and unreason seem to have directed all these strange proceedings; and yet some change was so needed, every one was so afraid of being the last to consent to these novelties, that addresses of adhesion to the measures taken by

* I here give the paragraph of this proclamation relating to the National Property, which caused such well-founded alarm. "As for the Property question, the King, who has already announced his intention of using every means in his power to protect the various interests of all, sees in the numerous arrangements already made between the old and new proprietors, a way of rendering any further legislation superfluous. Nevertheless he pledges himself to forbid any appeal to law which might upset these arrangements, to confine himself to encouraging amicable transactions, and himself and his family will set the example of making any sacrifice which may contribute to the happiness of France and the union of the French people."

the Senate poured in without intermission and filled those very columns in the *Moniteur* that were formerly occupied by protestations of fidelity and devotion to the Emperor and his dynasty,* signed with the same names.

Although these scenes offered me a large field of observation, I did not on that account neglect the object of my journey, and the business with which I was entrusted was my first care. The very day of my arrival I visited the Princess of Sweden. She was expecting a visit on the following day from the Emperor of Russia, and she hoped to obtain through his kindness all the requisite facilities for the departure of Napoleon's family. She also hoped to obtain permission for her sister to remain in France with her two daughters, and advised me not to include them in the demand for passports which I was about to make to the Provisional Government.

I called the next morning on M. de Talleyrand; but I requested an interview with him in vain.

* Among these numerous addresses, several made a great impression on me; those, for instance, of Cambacérès, and of General Mathieu, a kinsman of King Joseph, and of the Chief of his Staff, both of whom I had left at Blois. Their addresses are dated the 8th and 9th of April, and the Empress was then at Blois! The address of Count Philip de Ségur was remarkable for the chivalry of its sentiments. And this name "a pledge of the oaths sworn to the Bourbons" by M. de Ségur, reappears just a year after, among those of the officers of the Empire who flocked to the Tuileries to serve Napoleon.

The Emperor of Russia was with him ; a crowd of place-hunters and courtiers filled the reception-rooms, and among them I saw men whom I had left two days earlier at Blois. I redoubled my entreaties to the surly ushers ; I wrote a line saying from whom I came ; I was only told I could not be received and must return at some other hour. I did return ; and met with the same reception, or rather non-reception. Finally, after four vain attempts, I was obliged to renounce the hope of seeing this invisible deity. The unfortunate ambassador of a deposed power, I was unable to deliver my letters of credit, and the very doors which ten days before would have been flung wide open at the name of him who sent me, now refused to turn upon their hinges to admit me into the sanctuary.

I had no better luck with M. de Jaucourt ; he received me before breakfast. I thought it wiser, in the changed condition of affairs to abandon our former familiarity of language and he did not recall it.* I gave him the Queen's letter and told him how firmly she confided in the friendship of her former chamberlain. He replied that of course he would do all he could, that he would present a report at the next meeting of the Provisional Government, which would then give instructions to the

* We were accustomed to use the familiar "*Thou*," and "*Thee*."

Minister of Foreign Affairs, on whom he advised me to call. Then, curtly changing the conversation, "Well, where is he?" he asked me, "has he gone? what is he doing at Fontainebleau? You must know what is going on. So long as he is there, our labour is useless, and we cannot be at ease." I assured him I was not in a position to answer these questions, that according to the orders given to the Senate and the Council of State I had gone to Blois where I had been for six days, and during that time we had only once received news from Fontainebleau, by the Duke of Bassano, announcing the Emperor's abdication. "Well," he retorted, "the abdication is not yet accomplished; he bargains, and there are still troops in that direction; we cannot be at ease until he is gone." Since I could do nothing to relieve his mind, I returned to the object of my visit, but not being able to regain his attention I took leave of him.

There now remained King Louis' letter to Prince Schwarzenberg, but here my luck was even worse. I was unable to get past the Hussars and Cossacks who guarded the entrance of his palace, and was forced to entrust the letter to a lady of my acquaintance, who assured me she could find means to deliver it into his hands.

I sent the letter from the Duke of Feltre to his wife, and this was the only mission in which I

did not fail. After all this tiring work, I returned home, and wrote an account of it to King Joseph. My letter was taken by a courier whom the Princess of Sweden was despatching to her sister. The next day, April 10th, I heard from the Princess that her request had been well received by the Emperor of Russia, and that I would no doubt obtain the passport in the course of the day. Following M. de Jaucourt's instructions, I went at an early hour to the Provisional Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Laforêt. He received me at once. I explained to him the object of my visit. He told me he had received no orders from the Government, and that he could not, unless authorised to do so, let me have the passports which I solicited. "Besides," added he, "I don't exactly know what position I hold here. I have been named Minister of Foreign Affairs, but I am the shadow of a minister at the head of a shadowy department. I am like that shadow of a coachman, who in Pluto's regions, used to polish the shadow of a coach with the shadow of a brush." Having no reply to make to this sample of Scarronian learning, I took my departure and heard nothing more of the matter. But at length, two days later, M. de Laforêt sent to beg I would immediately call on him. I hastened to his house, and he showed me a paper, signed by the five members of the Provisional Government, and which

was an authorisation to him to have passports for King Joseph and his family issued, but on condition that the King should not return to France without leave from the Government. This clause was to be inserted in the passports. He then informed me, that it was not from him, as Minister or the shadow of a Minister, of Foreign Affairs, that I was to obtain the passports, but that they would be delivered to me at the Ministry of Police. I went there to claim them, and they were granted without difficulty on the same day, the 15th of April. I forwarded them at once to Orleans, whither King Joseph had proceeded on leaving Blois, and where I had addressed several letters to him acquainting him with the progress of my negotiations.

But I had not reached the end of the trouble which this mission was destined to cause me. The passports gave dissatisfaction; the clause they contained was looked upon as an insult, and the King was seriously angry with me for having admitted it, and for having sent him passports containing such a clause. He wrote me a very sharp letter,* which hurt my feelings all the more because

* Here is the King's letter :

“ Orleans, April 17th, 1814.

“ MONSIEUR LE COMTE.

“ I have received various letters from you. The letter of the 15th does not harmonise with the preceding ones. How could you imagine I should ever consent to proscribe myself? I leave such a task to those who consider it their duty. Such

of its injustice. I had done all that man could do, and besides, I could see nothing humiliating in the imposed conditions. The Emperor's abdication had rendered the formation of a Government, even as regarded his family, legitimate ; since no country can exist without one *de facto* or *de jure*, and that Government was free to impose the condition it had placed upon the issue of the passports. This was an act of regular authority, and in my opinion at least there was no disgrace in submitting to it.

Owing to this unlucky incident, a coolness arose between King Joseph and myself. He started alone and without passports for Switzerland, where he went to reside at the Chateau de Prangins, and I did not accompany him. Thus my relations with a man for whom I had a boundless affection were broken off. They were, however, renewed in later days, and I can now look back without bitterness on the wrong he did me, from an over susceptibility of feeling.

as I am, no one can insult me without inflicting an insult upon himself. My brother, the King of Westphalia, has received passports containing no such humiliating clause. I do not doubt your good will, but you were very much deceived if you thought to render me a service by advising me to an act of cowardice.

" Believe nevertheless in my gratitude for your trouble, and in my attachment.

" Your affectionate,

" JOSEPH."

To bring my account of this period to an end, I have only to add a few words about my personal affairs. So soon as the abdication of the Emperor, on the 11th of April, was known, the members of the Council of State, convened by the Provisional Government, assembled on the same day at the palace of the Tuileries. Being set free from their oaths by this abdication, they gave their adhesion to the changes which had occurred, and I was among the number of those who signed the act which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of April. But very soon a distinction was made between the various Councillors, and when, on the 16th of April, the Council was presented to Monsieur the King's brother, who had just arrived in Paris, those of its members who had followed the Empress to Blois,* were excluded from it; so that the treason of the Councillors of State to him who had just fallen, was accepted as a guarantee of their fidelity to the new Government. Was not this sound reasoning?

My exclusion from the Council decided my fate, and the effort that I made to be readmitted, in accordance with the wishes of my family, having failed,† I

* The Queen and her daughters came back to Paris, where I saw them several times. They lived with the Princess Royal of Sweden.

† I wrote on the 18th of April to M. de Talleyrand, who did not reply to my letter.

gave up politics, and settled at Versailles, where some of my relatives resided. A few days later I was joined there by my son-in-law, my son, and my nephew. They had left Fontainebleau after the departure of Napoleon. Having witnessed the last scenes which had taken place there, and which Vernet has since so vividly reproduced in his pictures, they were enabled to give us all the details.

Shortly after my establishment at Versailles, Louis XVIII. entered Paris, and disregarding the Constitution drawn up by the Senate, gave France the Charter—a monument of wisdom and prudence, which must, it seemed, put a term to all the convulsions of the country, and fix its destiny for ever. A regular Government was organized; the Council of State was re-established, and as I was not among those members who were summoned to join it, I received the retiring pension to which I was entitled. My son-in-law and I then bought between us a farm at Polangis, near Saint-Maur-sur-Marne. Thither I removed my household goods; and on the 18th of July I was quite settled in my new home. I hoped to pass quietly the rest of my life there, but this was not to be; I had not yet “dree’d my weird.”

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XX.

KING JOSEPH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

"SIRE: your Majesty's ministers furnish me regularly with extracts from their correspondence. I read them with all the interest that present circumstances inspire. I regret to inform your Majesty, that I find everywhere in them symptoms of the decline of authority, and prognostications of the complete dissolution of the administration.

"The presence of the enemy, independently of the ravages and the misery it occasions, has still more fatal consequences, in the loosening of all the bonds which unite the people to the Government; and the means to which it is necessary to have recourse in those places not occupied by the enemy, in order to provide for urgent and ever-recurring necessities, are beyond all precedent, are exhausting our resources, and at the same time demoralizing the public mind.

"Already in the departments in the centre of La Vendée, germs of insurrection are developing, and the Senator Comte Canclaux shows great alarm respecting the state of public opinion. The appearance of the enemy in the department of the Somme, and the momentary occupation of the citadel of Douvens, are events which, if we may believe what Senator Villemantzy writes, did not take place without the connivance of the inhabitants.

"Senator Latour-Maubourg is full of alarm respecting the effect that the presence of the enemy, now in Picardy, may produce on Normandy, and still more so on account of a ship hoisting the white flag, which has been signalled from the coast.

“ At the present time, the movements of the enemy at Meaux, and the terror they have inspired in Paris, have dismayed every mind ; and such alarm cannot be felt without giving rise to popular discontent, which tends to alienate the people from us.

“ The victories gained by your Majesty, and the odious conduct of the enemy, cannot, Sire, counterbalance these unfortunate tendencies. The most brilliant successes will not cause the miseries of the war to be forgotten, and the most fortunate of wars, by putting off from day to day the establishment of a regular order of administration, will but accelerate the fall of the financial and administrative system that now threatens us.

“ Peace alone can heal our wounds, if indeed they are not become quite incurable. Your Majesty, after having in so short a time, changed the face of affairs, and after having once more displayed to Europe that transcendant military talent which you never demonstrate with greater force than in the most critical circumstances, has now done all that was necessary to save France from a dishonourable peace. It remains for you to achieve a great work, by arresting, through the rule you seem to exercise over events, the evil which at present permeates every part of the social body. Every other consideration should give way before so pressing a necessity, and with so precious an interest at stake, your Majesty may make any sacrifices, without fearing that you can ever be reproached with them.

“ I hope that your Majesty will recognise in the freedom with which I explain myself, only a proof of the interest I take in your glory, and in the happiness of France, which is inseparable from it, and that you will consider me merely as the interpreter of the wishes and opinions of your most sincere friends and devoted servants.

“ I am, etc.

(Signed)

“ JOSEPH.”

“ Paris, March 1st, 1814.”

CHAPTER XXI.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

After Napoleon's return from the Island of Elba the Author re-enters the Council of State—Appearance of the Imperial Court at an audience given at the Tuileries—The Author again meets Prince Joseph—Declaration of the Council of State respecting the dogma of the sovereignty of the people—Addresses of the principal tribunals and of the ministers, in favour of the re-establishment of Imperial authority—State reception at the Tuileries—The Author is sent as Commissioner-Extraordinary of the Government into the departments composing the 12th Military Division, and goes to La Rochelle—Feeling of the inhabitants of the different departments which he visits—Difficulties encountered by him—Hostile disposition of the inhabitants of a part of La Vendée, and especially the town of Nantes—Unfortunate effect produced by the publication of the Additional Act—Warm reception given to the Author at Poitiers—On his return to Paris, the Author renders an account of his mission to the Emperor—Influence of Prince Lucien, who has returned to Paris, on affairs—The news from Vienna having put an end to all hope of a pacific arrangement with the Allied Powers, the Emperor has no other chance but war—Distrust inspired in the Government by the attitude of several general officers, and also by the majority of the nominations to the elective Chamber—Solemnity of the Champ de Mai—Discourse pronounced on this occasion, in the name of the electors, and the Emperor's

reply—Solemn opening of the session of the Chambers, on the 7th June—The Emperor leaves Paris on the 12th for the northern frontier—Abandoning the army after the disaster of Waterloo, he returns to Paris during the night of the 20th of June—His abdication, strenuously opposed by Lucien, is resolved upon, and sent to the Chambers—The Author hears that his son-in-law has been killed, and his son seriously wounded in the battle of Waterloo—Dispersion of all the members of Napoleon's family—The Author returns to the country, where the generous protection of the Emperor Alexander secures both him and his family from injury by the allied troops—Death of the Count's son in consequence of his wound—At the end of two years the Author, having sold his country house, returns to Paris, where, remote from public affairs, and occupied with literary work, he lives in profound retirement.

DURING the latter part of 1814, and the beginning of 1815, I lived in retirement, occupied with literary work. During this interval I made only two or three journeys to Paris, and thus remained an entire stranger to the political events of that period. Nevertheless I perceived by the action of the Government since the Restoration, that far from gaining the hold on the public which it greatly needed, so many private interests were irritated and injured by it, that, having struck no roots, it would be powerless to resist the first violent shock it might sustain. Circumstances speedily justified my conviction. The Emperor returned from Elba, and the Bourbons, abandoned by the Army, fled before him. But I only learned the fact of his return and its accom-

panying circumstances from the *Moniteur*. Notwithstanding my former friendships with the family, I received no private information of the event, and I had afterwards reason to believe that the daring Genius who had conceived and put into execution so rash an enterprise had admitted no one to his confidence. I have therefore nothing particular to say concerning the Emperor's return, excepting that I regretted it profoundly, and that when the news reached my retreat, I was seized with a presentiment, afterwards too fully realised, of what the consequences would be.

My position did not however admit of my remaining a mere spectator of this fresh crisis. My son-in-law, General Jamin, was still in command of the mounted grenadiers of the old Imperial guard, which Louis XVIII. had retained, and he, as well as my son and my nephew, his aides-de-camp, were carried along with the movement which the Emperor's return had communicated to all their former comrades in the army. I could not, without disowning them, refuse to re-enter the Council of State, from which the King had excluded me, and to which I was now recalled by the Emperor. I therefore yielded, though regretfully, to fate, and went to Paris on the 23rd of March, 1815. I found a crowd in the private apartment of the Emperor at the Tuileries. The former Grand Officers of the Empire had already

returned to their posts ; M. de Ségur, carrying the wand of the Grand Master of Ceremonies, was busy re-establishing the etiquette of the Imperial Palace, in spite of his name having been given in by his son as a “ guarantee of the oaths of fidelity to Louis XVIII.” The Senators who had not been created peers by the King, re-appeared in their senatorial garments, the Councillors of State had likewise put on their former robes. Ministers, Marshals, Generals, and a great number of officers of every rank, had hastened to the palace, and the tricoloured cockade appeared again in the hats of the soldiers. The metamorphosis was as sudden as it was complete. In the midst of this eager crowd, Napoleon remained calm, and his face showed no signs of astonishment or exaltation. It would seem as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and he stood there as though he had never been absent. He spoke a good deal, and in his discourses gave way to no recrimination against the Bourbons. He only pointed out, and with justice, the faults they had committed, and the errors into which they had fallen, by alienating from themselves the public feeling of France, that alone could uphold them, and by giving themselves up to emigrés, priests, and former courtiers, who could give them no firm support. He repeated many times that but for the mistakes of the Government he would never have thought of returning to France, and that it was the

Bourbons themselves who had opened the way for him.

After this audience, I went to call on Prince Joseph who had left Switzerland and just arrived in Paris. He received me well, but still not with the affection to which our former friendship had accustomed me. I found him surrounded with persons who came to entreat him to get them taken back into the Emperor's favour, and who, not having dared to present themselves at the Tuileries implored his good offices. He received them with the greatest kindness, worked for them zealously, and succeeded in a great number of cases. As to those towards whom the Emperor was inflexible, they afterwards made a merit of their disgrace, and accounted for his refusal to receive them, by their too well-known attachment to the cause of the Bourbons!

On the 25th of March, the Council of State was assembled under the presidency of Count Defermon, the earliest in date among the Presidents of Section, Count Thibaudeau, reporter of a Commission charged to present a declaration of the Council on the situation of affairs, read to us the draft which had been drawn up by him and adopted by the Commission. Its principles, which re-established the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, could not be pleasing to the Emperor, who during all his political career had always opposed that dogma, or at least only professed

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it in order not too rudely to shock the ideas adopted by the majority of the nation. But at this epoch the Council reverted to the doctrines of the early days of the Revolution, and flattered itself it could secure their triumph, as the only doctrines which could attract the middle and lower ranks of society, in which it was obliged to seek its principal support, to the Government. The draft of declaration was therefore adopted without difficulty, and I, with the great majority of my colleagues, signed it.

While the Council of State was deliberating on this declaration and adopting it, the other great Bodies of the State, such as the Court of Cassation, the Court of Appeal, and what appeared more extraordinary, the Ministers themselves, held meetings, and voted addresses more or less in favour of the re-establishment of the Imperial authority.

Lastly, everything being prepared beforehand, on the following day, March 26th, the Emperor gave a State reception at the Tuileries to the various authorities, listened to the addresses which were read to him, and replied by assurances of moderation, and respect for the rights of the people. He said that he had renounced that great Empire for the establishment of which he had worked during fifteen years, and that he abdicated the ambitious titles of King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of the Swiss Leagues. But notwith-

standing this abdication and the novelty of his language, he did not succeed in dispelling all distrust. Every countenance was serious, and anxiety was to be read in them all; there was a visible constraint, and many of the generals, among others Alexandre Girardin and César Berthier, seemed to me greatly at a loss to know what to do with themselves, and with the tricolor which had replaced the white cockade they had worn in their hats for now nearly a year. General Berthier said a great deal to me about the anxiety which the position of his brother the Prince of Wagram occasioned him. He told me that he had written begging him to return and throw himself on the generosity of the Emperor. A short time afterwards Napoleon let César Berthier know that the Prince of Wagram had nothing to fear in returning to France.* And that forgiveness was sincere, for in truth never was there a sovereign less vindictive than Napoleon.

When the Emperor crossed the Salle des Maréchaux, on his way to mass, and the room which precedes the Council-chamber of the Council of State, he was greeted with loud acclamations by the officers of the Imperial and National guards. On his return he.

* He had forsaken the Emperor after his abdication, and the King had appointed him one of the Captains of the Body Guard. At the news of the landing of Napoleon at Fréjus he had left Paris, and taken refuge in Germany, where he perished miserably.

gave audience, but he did not show himself outside the palace.

After this fashion was the newly restored Government inaugurated. To all outward appearance everything had assumed its accustomed order. The Emperor's absence had not lasted long enough to break through former habits, and the interregnum had been barely perceptible. But that it was far otherwise with the mind of the public, soon became manifest.

The Emperor presided in person over the Council of State on the 28th of March. On entering the Hall he looked up at the ceiling, on which Gérard had painted the battle of Austerlitz, and he seemed pleased to find the painting just as he had left it. He then asked for the orders of the day, and made no allusion to the general situation of affairs. He was waiting the issue of some negotiations which he was attempting with the Congress of Vienna (they were all rejected), and his ideas on the direction to be given to the Government, and on the nature of the modifications which he had promised to introduce into the Imperial Constitution, were not yet sufficiently fixed for him to bring forward subjects of such importance. The sitting was therefore of little interest. Those which were held in the month of April were far more important. The debates on the famous Additional Articles were very

animated, especially when M. Benjamin Constant, who had been appointed a Councillor of State, took part in them.

During those debates I was absent from Paris. I therefore abstain from any account of what then took place at the Council, and will say a few words respecting the object of my journey.

On Sunday the 9th of April I received, while in the country, a letter from the Minister of the Interior,* ordering me, in the name of the Emperor, to start that night for La Rochelle, as Government Commissioner Extraordinary for the departments comprised in the 12th Military Division.† Some few senators and several of my colleagues had been appointed to discharge similar duties in the other divisions. That which had fallen to me was, doubtless, not one of the least difficult; I was going into a part of the country that had long suffered from civil war; I should meet the Emperor's most determined enemies, English agents, and perhaps even some of the Bourbon Princes, who, it was said, had remained in those parts, in order to keep up the zeal of their adherents. My instructions were not very explicit, but on the other hand extensive powers were con-

* General Carnot, whom a few days previously the Emperor had made a Count and Minister of the Interior.

† That is, the departments of La Vienne, Deux-Sèvres, Charente Inférieure, La Vendée and Loire-Inférieure.

ferred on me ; I could dismiss and replace the civil authorities (prefects alone excepted) and the treasury officials. I was to organise the National Guard everywhere, to encourage the formation of volunteer corps, and to direct them towards the northern frontiers, and I was to do all these things without delay ; rapidity of execution was especially expected from me.

After having obtained some information from Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely concerning the neighbourhood, of which he was a native and which he knew well, I left Paris on the morning of the 10th of April, and arrived at La Rochelle on the 13th in the evening. The Minister of the Interior had given me the names of the new prefects just appointed by the Emperor to the department of the 12th Military Division. I found that Baron Arbaud de Jonques was still at La Rochelle ; he had been prefect under the Royalist Government in the department of Charente Inférieure. He was waiting for his successor, M. Boissy d'Anglas. M. Arbaud made great complaints to me of his dismissal, and warmly protested his devotion in the service of the Emperor. He was eager to explain to me all his claims to less severe treatment, on account of the services he had rendered to the Imperial Government at different times, and particularly when Prefect of the Hautes-Pyrénées at the time of our retreat from Spain. He

begged me forward his petition to Paris and I did so. It obtained no attention, and the fact that it did not, became in his case, as in many others, a title to fresh favours from the restored Royalist Government.*

The people appeared to regard the change of their magistrates with considerable indifference. So many similar convulsions had successively occurred at very short intervals, that their political sensitiveness was worn out. I found the department quite tranquil. The dwellers in the towns, trembling for their trade, were, if not hostile, at least cold; the country people, who believed the Emperor's return would protect them from the nobles and priests who had tyrannised over them, were less indifferent, and were ready to make further sacrifices.

I remained several days at La Rochelle. In concert with M. Boissy d'Anglas, who arrived on the 15th of April to supersede M. Arbaud, I made some changes in the civil authorities; but quietly, and with the sole view of preventing internal dissensions between the governors and the governed. I endeavoured to hold the balance as evenly as possible between the two extremes, without feeling certain

* After the second Restoration, Baron Arbaud was made Prefect of the Gard. His severity in the department, and his imprudent conduct, contributed in no small degree to the sanguinary disturbances that took place there in 1815.

however that I had chosen for the best. During my stay in this department, and in others that I visited subsequently, I had not time to obtain information for my guidance; I can therefore only claim the merit of good intentions. Moreover, my work was not permanent enough to have been productive of much good or evil.

I left La Rochelle for Rochefort on the 20th of August, thence I went to Saintes, and St. Jean d'Angely. I was not ill-received on my journey. The changes that I effected in the administration, were always in accordance with the principles I have just mentioned, and, generally speaking, met with approval.

On my return I passed another day at La Rochelle, whence I directed my steps to the department of La Vendée. In order to reach the chief town which had resumed its former name of Napoleon, I crossed that part of it called La Plaine. All was perfectly quiet, and the inhabitants displayed attachment to the principles of the Revolution, which I had not expected in a department famous for obstinate resistance to the Republican system, and for devotion to the family of our former kings. But the case was different in a part called Le Bocage, a wooded country difficult of access, and at that time greatly disturbed.

I stayed two days at Napoleon. I saw the new

Prefect, M. Boullé, who did not disguise from me that he was alarmed by the popular feeling in this part of his department. He considered it useless to dream of reorganizing the National Guard; he believed that if fresh battalions were formed, they would never consent to leave the department, and that if they remained in it, they would turn their arms against the very authority that had re-established them. I followed his advice, and confined myself to making a few changes in mayors and municipal officers. I refused, moreover, to listen to the numerous denunciations that were, of course, addressed to me, and if I could not provide for the future tranquillity of the country, at least I did not disturb such as it enjoyed.

I proceeded next to Nantes. On entering the town I found considerable crowds awaiting me, and I was received with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" But I should have gravely erred had I taken this unexpected welcome for a sincere expression of the feelings of that great and important city. Not one of those I had as yet visited had shown more hostility. All the merchants, the magistrates, the rich landowners were strongly against the Emperor. Women especially displayed great aversion and enmity to him, they inspired all over whom they had any influence with the same. The shouts that had welcomed me proceeded only from the lowest classes of society,

and the guilds of workmen and artisans. But these assemblies, which were openly encouraged by the agents of the Minister of Police, and to which I could not refuse my sanction, were more formidable to the upper classes, to whom they recalled the early days of the Revolution, than useful to the cause they had to defend.

This state of things made my task difficult, and it was only by great exertion that I succeeded in creating a new municipality at Nantes, and inducing men of sufficient character to justify my choice, to accept public offices which I could not leave in the hands of declared enemies. The new Prefect, M. Bounaire, was without influence, and could not help me. Lastly, the promulgation of the Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire, which I received just then, added to the difficulties of my mission. That act fulfilled so ill the hopes that had been built on it, that it was unanimously rejected by all parties. The people had flattered themselves that the Emperor would convene a National Assembly, to discuss, those alterations in the Constitution which past experience had shown to be necessary. This was what the Emperor had promised in his proclamations and in his speeches; it was the text which the Commissioners, sent into the departments, had amplified in order to regain the favour of the people. But, instead of fulfilling these promises, the

Emperor alone, unassisted by any national representation, and without public debate, made, in some sort, a new Constitution. With a stroke of his pen, he confirmed the provisions of a number of former Decrees which required reform, and forbade their further examination. The new institutions announced by the Additional Act, although good in themselves, were incomplete. They did not affect the Communal system of 28 Pluviôse, Year VIII.; a system inherently vicious, and of which great complaints had been made. Finally, the concluding article (of no avail, for what law can fetter the future will of a nation?) offended not only all the partisans of the Bourbons, but also those of that system of the Sovereignty of the People, which had been recognised by the very organs of the Government itself. Thus both extremes of public opinion were equally unfavourable. Thenceforth all action in the name of the Government became almost ineffective, and the slight influence I had been enabled to exert at Nantes was entirely effaced. Never had a political error more immediate effect, and I clearly foresaw that the elections by which a Chamber of Deputies was to be formed, would end in the return of members of the so-called patriotic opposition, and that the Emperor, instead of finding firm and faithful support in that new Chamber, would only find opponents more or less imbued with the Republican

maxims which they would have restored only that time had failed them. I wrote to Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, pointing out all the harm that his imprudent measure had done to the Emperor's cause ; but the evil was irreparable.

I had now only to visit the Department of Deux-Sèvres and that of Vienne, and had barely time to pass hastily through them. I had received orders to be back in Paris on the 5th of May, and as it was physically impossible for me to get there at that date precisely, I resolved at least not to exceed it by more than a few days.

I reviewed the National Guard at Nantes, on the 2nd of May. Although the weather was beautiful there was not a woman present. The Guard took the oath to the Emperor *en masse*, but with a marked reluctance which I pretended not to perceive. I left Nantes the same evening for Niort, where I arrived on the 3rd, after again traversing all the Department of La Vendée, by way of Montaigu, Chatonnay and Fontenoy le Comte, where I halted for a few hours.

The department of Deux-Sèvres, of which Niort is the chief place, is situated in the neighbourhood of La Vendée. Its inhabitants had frequently taken part in the civil wars, but at the time of my visit it was still pretty quiet. I met with more civility there than I had expected, and was enabled to act without

encountering much difficulty. M. Busch, the Prefect of the Department, a worthy and clever man, had made himself popular, and was of great use to me. The National Guard supplied battalions for the frontiers, and showed a readiness to defend the interior too; but this state of tranquillity was soon disturbed. In proportion as the tendencies of the Congress of Vienna became better known, the emissaries of the Bourbons and of England reappeared in La Vendée, and the neighbouring departments, and renewed their intrigues. Serious disturbances soon broke out. I was not informed of them until after I had left Deux-Sèvres, but as I had no means of restoring order, I did not think it desirable to return to that department, although I was entreated to do so by the Prefect, and I confined myself to reporting the state of things to the Government, who thereupon despatched an army corps into the disturbed provinces under General Lamarque.*

From Niort I proceeded to Poitiers, where I arrived on the 6th of May. I found the town in a state of ferment. The electors were assembling for the election of the Chamber of Deputies. The National Guard under General Demarçay, who had re-

* It is well known that in executing this difficult task General Lamarque proved himself an able commander and also a capable negotiator, and that he succeeded in pacifying that part of the country.

organised it, was full of ardour and energy. In a word the "patriots" had the upper hand. My reception showed signs of this; crowds came out to meet me, and not, as at Nantes, the people only; the highest classes of society hastened to take part in the fête. The streets were illuminated at night; the next day the town invited me to a state banquet; in fact none of the demonstrations usual on occasions of the kind were omitted. I will even add that they were in great part sincere; the conduct of the old nobility, and that of the clergy since the first Restoration, had alienated the people of the department from the Bourbon cause, and in their desire to escape a yoke of which they had felt the weight, they embraced the cause of the Emperor. The concurrence of these various circumstances, saved me from opposition; I could not, however, overcome the ill-will of the clergy, who obstinately refused to pray for the Emperor. In an interview which I had with the Vicar-General on the subject, he defended himself by saying he was without orders from the Bishop of the Diocese. All he could do, he said, was to leave off praying for Louis XVIII.; and he assured me that he had done so. "But," added he, "I shall pray for no one else until ordered by my superiors." I had to content myself with this compromise; there was no more to be said.

My mission was now ended, and, on the evening

of the 9th, I began my return journey to Paris, filled with melancholy reflections. True it was that I left behind me—at least so I flattered myself—the recollection of no individual grievance, of no act of violence or passion; I had neither persecuted nor annoyed any man because his opinions were not the same as mine; I had even shut my eyes to many political shortcomings, excusable under the difficulty of the circumstances. Nevertheless, I was far from experiencing that interior satisfaction which public men derive from the conviction of having done good, and conduced, each in his own sphere, to the welfare of his fellow citizens. Had I been of service to them, or had I misled them? Had I contributed, by the appointments I had made, to their well-being or the contrary? Time only could answer these questions, nor was it long before I knew that all my efforts had been, if not injurious, at least unavailing.

I reached Paris on the 12th of May, and the following day I waited on the Emperor who was then residing at the Elysée. On presenting myself, I was told that he was engaged with the Duke of Dalmatia, whom he had just appointed Major-General of the army intended to act on the frontiers of the Netherlands, of which the Emperor was to take the chief command in person. I was not a little surprised to find this man restored to

Napoleon's friendship, and honoured with so great a mark of his regard; this same Marshal who, when Minister of War under the Royalist Government, had apparently used every effort to prevent the Emperor from marching on Paris, and to render his daring enterprise abortive. Such a return for Napoleon's favour might have led me to think that the opposition of the Minister of War was on the surface only; but in that conjecture I should have been mistaken. Necessity alone had recalled the Marshal; his military ability was the true cause of a reconciliation which seemed to me so strange at that time.

On the conclusion of the Duke of Dalmatia's audience, the Emperor sent for me, and kept me with him about a quarter of an hour. As this was my last interview with Napoleon, I will give the particulars of it. "Well," he said, as soon as he saw me, "well, have you made good selections? Can I rely on the men you have appointed?" "I have done my best," I answered, "but I cannot answer for them to your Majesty. The time allowed me was altogether insufficient. I found new prefects who knew the country no better than myself. I avoided as far as possible making choice of men of extreme views, and I excluded all those who were notoriously such, but I can answer for nothing. Besides, until either political

treaties or victory have definitely pronounced for us, we cannot reckon on any real success. The return of the Empress to Paris would do more at this moment than all the efforts of the Commissioners to the departments." "You are right; I don't yet altogether despair. I have sent to Vienna; I have endeavoured to treat with Talleyrand; he will listen to nothing; he is sold to England. But," interrupting himself, "was the Duc de Bourbon still in La Vendée when you got there?" "I do not know," I replied, "and I made no inquiries. If he was there, it was better to give him an opportunity of getting away than to try to detain him." "You are right," answered the Emperor, "it would have been a great difficulty." Then, after a moment's silence, he resumed. "What is the state of public feeling in those departments?" "It is my duty to tell your Majesty the truth," I replied, "and I will not attempt to disguise it. With the exception of some parts of La Vendée, where it was entirely against the Bourbons, and almost revolutionary, in other places, and especially among the higher classes, it is, if not hostile, at least cold and indifferent. As for the lower classes, they seem actuated rather by a return to Republican maxims than by any other sentiments; and if they attach themselves to the name of your Majesty, it is because they take it as a guarantee of the liberties which

they claim, and which you have promised to restore. But I must not conceal that nearly everywhere, women are your declared enemies, and in France they are adversaries not to be despised." "Oh! I know that," he exclaimed, "I am told of it on all sides. I never admitted women into cabinet secrets; I never suffered them to meddle with the Government; and they are now avenging themselves."

The conversation, during which, as his custom was, he had never ceased walking up and down, then dropped, and, after a silence of a few minutes, I was dismissed.

I left the audience chamber with an unsatisfactory impression. The Emperor was no longer what I had seen him formerly. He was moody. The confidence that of old had manifested itself in his speech, the tone of command, the lofty ideas that directed his words and gestures, had disappeared; he seemed already to feel the hand of adversity that was soon to weigh so heavily upon him; he had already ceased to reckon on his destiny.

Nor was there anything to reassure me in the state of Paris. Disgust, alarm, and discontent were predominant; there was no appearance of attachment to the Government. As yet this opposition evaporated in epigrams and pasquinades, and as the artisans of the populous quarters of St.

Antoine and St. Marceau had formed themselves into companies, and even presented themselves for review at the Tuileries, there was no sedition to fear. Besides, to the very last moment, Napoleon was the King of the people of Paris, and the spell of his name over them has survived him who bore it.

On my return from my mission, I found Lucien Bonaparte established in Paris, under the name of Prince Lucien.* On hearing of the Emperor's landing, and the success of an enterprise that had restored him to the throne, Lucien had hastened to leave Rome, and come to Paris with offers of service to the Emperor. The two brothers, who twelve years before had parted after a violent quarrel, met again in Paris and were reconciled. Prince Lucien resided at the Palais-Royal. The other members of the family had also assembled; Madame Mère, Prince Jérôme, and Cardinal Fesch were at the Emperor's side, ready to share the good fortune of him whom they had deserted in his exile. Prince Louis alone held aloof, and did not reappear on the shifting scene.

Prince Lucien, whose superior abilities entitled him to play a leading part, and who did in fact exercise great influence over affairs, was both bolder

* Pope Pius VII. had conferred on him the title of Prince of Canino.

and more determined than the others, and would have shrunk from no extremity in order to retain the supreme authority in his family ; but we were no longer in Brumaire, Year VIII., and he was mistaken in supposing that the measures than resorted to, could again command success. As, moreover, notwithstanding the reconciliation of the two brothers, a certain distrust still existed between Napoleon and Lucien, Prince Joseph was nominated President of Council in the Emperor's absence, while Prince Lucien was to be present merely as a member, like the Ministers.

Such was the position at the end of May. Meanwhile events were hastening on, and an inevitable crisis, of which the issue was terribly uncertain, was fast approaching. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, whom I saw on the 23rd of May, told me that news had arrived from Vienna some days before, and that it was extremely bad. All hope of arrangement, or of political transaction must be given up. It was even rumoured that the dissolution of the Emperor's marriage with Marie Louise had been decided on. Although this was contradicted, there was no longer any hope that that Princess could or even would return to her husband, and that prospect, with which the nation had been soothed for awhile, vanished utterly. Thus the battlefield became our only resource ; it was again to decide our fate, and we reflected with

despair that if we were beaten, the foreigner would rule in France, while, if we conquered, we should once more fall under military government.

The Emperor, who could see no chance of success excepting in war, had taken advantage of the slowness of his enemies to prepare for the campaign. The army was strengthened daily, new corps were formed, and old ones had their losses filled up. All was activity on the frontier; the soldiers were in excellent spirits; they longed for battle, for they knew that for them there was no salvation but in victory. With such feelings, the army, it was said, was invincible, though their numbers were only in the proportion of one to three of the enemy. But less confidence was felt in the officers than in the men. Certain reports had given rise to alarm, and the worst was that all uneasiness had to be concealed for fear of increasing the evil. All that could be done was to recall certain generals on whom commands had been bestowed, and who were now under suspicion. General Alexandre Girardin was one of these; but the sequel has shown that many others who were retained at their posts, should have been included in this precautionary measure.

It is clear, therefore, that the Emperor, in setting out on this campaign was no longer in the same position as formerly when he undertook his memorable wars. He was oppressed with cares of another

kind, which deprived him of the prescient glance, and of the profound sagacity he had so many times displayed. There was something strained and uncertain in the situation, that was not of good augury for the future.

Another circumstance arose to complicate the position. The Chamber of Deputies was elected, and the Government affected to be satisfied with the choice of members. But their satisfaction was not sincere ; there was no concealing that the majority of the members were imbued with all the prejudice and dislike that had been manifested in the departments against the Additional Act. It was to be feared, therefore, that the Chamber would declare itself against the new Charter, and would proceed to its overthrow instead of seconding the Government. Moreover, who was to curb it during the Emperor's absence ? And on his return must a second 18 Brûmaire be enacted, in order to get rid of it ? Fouché, who had so greatly aided the first, was now more than doubtful, and only the fear of making a declared enemy of him induced the Emperor to retain him in his office of Minister of Police.

There were, however, no means of temporising, nor of further adjourning the meeting of the Chambers. The Council of State even refused to act in place of the Legislature. In a sitting on the 23rd of May, they had refused their adhesion to a decree proposed

by the War Section calling out the conscription of 1815, because levies of recruits appertained to the Legislative Power.* In their next sitting, therefore, (May the 26th), the preliminaries for the opening of the two Chambers were brought forward,† and the date fixed for the 3rd of June. But, before their meeting, it was not possible to avoid holding the famous “Champ de Mai,” as promised in the Emperor’s first proclamation, and to which all the members of the Electoral Colleges, the deputies representing the Army and Navy, and those from all the National Guards of the Empire, were summoned. In fact, this assemblage, resuscitated from our ancient annals, and originally designed to decree any necessary modifications to the Imperial Constitutions, had become, since the publication of the Additional Act, totally superfluous; but it had been announced; all those entitled to be present were in Paris; curiosity hungered for the vain ceremonial and must needs be satisfied.

It took place in the Champ de Mars, on the 1st of June. I was present. A great concourse of people, deputies from all parts of France, magnificent troops, bishops, and numerous priests, an altar and a throne;

* They were raised under the Empire, by means of a *Senatus-Consultum*, which by usurpation had the force of law.

† The Additional Act had instituted an hereditary Chamber of Peers.

all these things afforded a gorgeous spectacle. But there was, in general, more curiosity than enthusiasm, and the festival was in no respect to be compared, as had been intended, with the Federation of 1790. On that occasion, the fête had been eminently national; the feelings of both actors and spectators were exhibited without effort or intermission. In 1815, short bursts of factitious enthusiasm occurred abruptly now and again, and the signal for applause was always given by the troops. The groups formed by the various state officials responded but feebly. I observed, however, that the University, at the head of which was M. Cuvier, who encouraged them by his example, were lavish in their shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" *

The State with which the Emperor had surrounded himself was not approved. The gold-embroidered garments which he had resumed, the tinsel on his courtiers' dress, were in too strong a contrast with the

* Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely assured me many times that he had exerted all his influence to obtain M. Cuvier's re-admission to the Council of State. M. Cuvier himself greatly wished it. But the Emperor was inflexible. He was equally so about the petitions of M. de Laplace and M. Berthollet, to be included in the Chamber of Peers, although Queen Julia, to whom he was much attached, had strongly interested herself on behalf of the former. Napoleon considered he had great cause of complaint against these three illustrious members of the University. He had, in fact, loaded them with favours, for which they had shown very little gratitude.

plain attire of the electors, and were evidently out of harmony with the spirit of the fête. The white uniforms worn by the Emperor's three brothers, and which implied a prerogative unsanctioned by the nation—since, with the exception of Prince Joseph whose right of succession was recognised, the other princes (Lucien and Jerome) had not been called to heredity,—produced an especially disagreeable and offensive effect.

The speech delivered in the name of the electors, after Mass had been celebrated by the Archbishop of Bourges, was in great part the composition of Carrion-Nisas, a former member of the Tribune. It was read, or rather theatrically declaimed, by M. Dubois, one of the deputies. The speech, which had been adopted on the preceding day by a majority of the Electors, under the presidency of Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, although occasionally very able, did not produce the effect that had been expected. On an attentive examination it was perceived that it did not touch on the special points on which the public would have wished it to be explicit, that is, on the relations to be established in future between the Nation and its Chief Magistrate. No doubt, it was right to speak of the unjust aggression of foreign powers, and to say that every Frenchman should be ready to shed his blood in repelling that aggression, but there should also have been a strong assurance

that no return to the system of home government that had brought us so swiftly to destruction was intended. On this solemn occasion the Nation should have registered in the presence of its representatives, the rights it had reconquered, and which at that very moment it was beginning to exercise. The Chief should have been told that from that day the form of Government was changed, and France refused to be any longer the patrimony of a master.

Such was the language we would have liked to hear, and not vain recriminations on the conduct of the Royalist Government, whose faults were sufficiently known. For we had to defend ourselves, not only against the return of the Bourbons and foreign invasion, there were other dangers that past experience had taught us to dread, and now was the time to point them out.

The Emperor's reply was as vague and commonplace as the speech addressed to him. In the midst of generalities there was only a word about the revision of the Constitution. This revision was to consist in a law intended to unite and co-ordinate all the scattered acts of the Constitution. Moreover it was full of the formulas "my people," "my capital," and others of like nature, jarring upon ears that had recovered their Republican susceptibility. From these expressions of the Emperor it was concluded

that no change had been effected in his sentiments, and that the concessions he made were only yielded to necessity.

Thus, the ceremonial, far from drawing the people towards the Emperor, only cooled them the more. The displeasure of the deputies and electors was evident. Their remarks were strongly imbued with a spirit of opposition, and they did not care to conceal their feelings. In a word, the thing was an utter failure, and the assembly from which so much had been hoped, became before evening a subject of derision. Nevertheless, the ridicule cast upon it did not hinder the people of Paris from crowding as usual to the fête provided for them on the following Sunday, the 4th of June.

If the Government could not congratulate themselves on the success of the Champ de Mai, the spirit manifested by the Chamber of Representatives on their opening, two days later, was not calculated to console them. On its first sitting, the Chamber elected Count Lanjuinais as President. It could not have made a more honourable choice, nor at the same time a more hostile one. Count Lanjuinais, as a Senator under the Empire, had always belonged to the small minority who opposed those usurpations of power to which the rest of the Senate so complacently agreed. His principles were well known, and if he could not be reckoned among the strong partisans of

Republican maxims, he was known to be the declared enemy of despotism. His upright and inflexible character was not open to persuasion, still less to bribery. Notwithstanding the annoyance this selection must have caused the Emperor, he gave it a cheerful approval.

The Chamber of Peers had been nominated on the 2nd of June, by a decree, which was not, however, inserted in the *Moniteur* until the 6th of June. It seemed to be so selected as to ensure a strong Government party, although the list of members was a curious mixture of names from the Army, from the remains of the Senate, from the old nobility, and a few financiers. The men of science belonging to the former Senate were excluded, with the exception of Counts Chaptal and Monge. But as nearly all the newly created Peers were in the pay of the Government, there was apparently no danger of any serious opposition, nor in fact did any arise so long as the Emperor's power endured. But no sooner was it shaken than Napoleon learned that his Chamber of Peers, like his former Senate, was faithful only in prosperity.

The two Chambers being thus organised, the solemn opening of the Session was appointed to take place on the 7th of June. The sitting was held in the hall of the Chamber of Deputies, and the Council of State having been summoned to attend, I was present on

the occasion. The Emperor's throne had been erected on the spot usually occupied by the writing-table of the Chamber, and the President sat opposite, in the centre of a half circle formed by the benches of the deputies. The peers occupied lower seats on the right of the throne, and the Council of State was on the left.

The Emperor's speech, on the whole, was good, and gave much more satisfaction than that of the Champ de Mai. The expressions which had offended on that occasion were not employed. Consequently he was received with applause that seemed genuine. A few shouts of "Vive l'Empereur" were even uttered, but in general the demeanour of the Assembly was grave and cold.

After receiving addresses in reply to his speech, from both Chambers, the Emperor set out for the army on the 12th of June, at 3 A.M. The Imperial Guard had left Paris on the 5th; it included my son-in-law, General Jamin, my nephew, and my son. This separation, which for some was to be eternal, added family troubles to the pain that as a citizen and a public man I endured during those fatal days.

Before leaving Paris, the Emperor had appointed a Governing Council, consisting of the Ministers, and presided over by Prince Joseph. It included Prince Lucien. Prince Jerome accompanied his brother to the army.

The Council of State was to exercise its usual functions, and as Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès was president of the Chamber of Peers, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was made president of the Council of State.

The duties of my post and my desire to be within reach of news from the army, kept me in Paris, and I made short excursions only to my family in the country. I saw Prince Joseph frequently, and our former friendship, which, from the circumstances I have already related, had been somewhat shaken, was again renewed. His house was the centre of the Government, and was never free from crowds, who, under pretext of attachment, endeavoured to find out, by watching our countenances, what might be looked for, either of good or evil.

The first accounts were favourable. On the morning of the 18th of June, a discharge of cannon announced the successful opening of the campaign,* and crowds more numerous than ever waited on Prince Joseph.

But on the 20th, in the evening, the most disastrous rumours were spread abroad. I tried in vain to obtain particulars as to what had occurred. Prince Joseph had not as yet received any intelligence, and I returned home at eleven, full of distress and anxiety.

* The engagement at Zigny under Fleury.

The next morning there was no longer any room for doubt. We were beaten ; the flower of our army, the one only hope of the nation, had perished on the field of Waterloo, and although I did not yet know the full extent of my private misfortunes, all that I heard filled me with dismay.

The Emperor had arrived during the night, and his sudden return, causing consternation to all, deprived him of the last remnant of popularity. None could understand how he had deserted the army, in the face of such dangers, and the bitterest reproaches were uttered by all.

I learned, in the course of the day, that there had been a meeting of Ministers at the Elysée Palace. Prince Joseph and Prince Lucien had been present. The Emperor offered to abdicate for a second time, and the proposition was discussed. I heard that the Duke of Otranto had been strongly in favour of accepting it, but that Prince Lucien had been as strongly against it. He had, on the contrary, urged the Emperor to get on horseback, and, at the head of his followers, to march on the Chambers, dissolve them, and declare himself dictator ; the only means, he said, of saving France, and his family. The Emperor had hesitated to take this extreme step ; his former energy seemed to have deserted him, and all the other members of the Council being of the same opinion as the Duke of Otranto, the abdication was

resolved on, and immediately made known to the Chambers, who set up a Provisional Government. They had already declared themselves to be sitting in permanence, and at the commencement of that day's sitting had secured their inviolability, protesting against any attempt that might be made against them.

These are the only particulars that came to my knowledge at that time. But I learned, afterwards, that in the interval between the abdication and the Emperor's departure, Prince Lucien had again unsuccessfully urged the course he had advised at the Council. But he had been too ill-received in both Chambers, whither he had gone as Commissioner-Extraordinary from the Emperor, to inspire any great confidence. Times were changed, as I have already pointed out, and although his plan offered some chances of success, it is more than probable that it would have failed. Looking at it, however, neither in the interests of morality nor in those of France, but as it regarded the Emperor's fame, this, no doubt, would have been the most glorious way of ending his career.

It is worthy of remark that amid all the violent agitation prevailing during the whole of the 21st of June, in the Chambers and the Government Council, the inhabitants of Paris were far less excited than might have been expected under circumstances so

serious. A complete calm reigned throughout the city, and was not for one moment disturbed. Was this from courage or from indifference? Time has solved the question. Tossed from one government to another, the people had lost all regard either for the one they were losing, or for the other that was about to be restored to them. They slumbered, while waiting to hear at their awaking, whether they were to obey Napoleon II. or Louis XVIII.*

I passed the 22nd of June in Paris. In a state of overpowering mental agony, I sought in every direction for news from the army, in the hope of learning the fate of my daughter's husband, my son and my nephew. All three, as I have said, belonged to the mounted Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and their corps, I was told, had been almost entirely destroyed.

At last, on the 23rd of June, I received a letter from my nephew, telling me that General Jamin had been killed on the battlefield, and that my son had been struck by a ball in the right hip, and was seriously wounded. My nephew himself had been fortunate enough to escape all harm on that fatal day, and he was bringing home my son, on a litter he had had made for the journey.

The duties imposed on me under these melancholy

* Napoleon had abdicated on condition that his son should succeed him.

circumstances absorbed all my thoughts. I went immediately to the country, to my wife and widowed daughter, who was expecting to become a mother, to offer them every consolation in my power. My son did not arrive until the 27th of June. He had been obliged to travel by circuitous routes, to avoid the enemy, who were already spreading on the roads leading to the capital. His wound was far more serious than had been thought at first. I should have liked to keep him in the country, where he would have been in better air, and would have been more quiet than in Paris; but the danger was too great, and I was obliged to remove him with the rest of my family to my small apartment in Paris.

I returned there myself two days beforehand. I had seen Prince Joseph several times and had told him of my misfortunes. He sympathised in my grief, and was touched with regret at the death of his former aide-de-camp, who had so bravely defended him at Vittoria; but the crisis in his own affairs naturally absorbed all his thoughts, and I shrank from diverting his attention from them.

I had left him on the 27th of June, and had gone the next morning to the country, to complete some domestic arrangements. I had barely arrived there when I received a note from M. Presle, Joseph's private secretary, begging me in the most pressing

terms to wait upon the Prince immediately. The note was addressed to me in Paris, from whence it had been forwarded to me. I started at once, and I reached Prince Joseph's palace at about noon ; but he was not there ; I only saw his wife. She told me that her husband had set out that very morning ; that he had wished me to accompany him, and would have proposed my doing so had I arrived in time. She added, however, that she had been doubtful whether, under the melancholy circumstances in my own family, I could have accepted his offer, but that her husband had been determined on making it, because he knew of no other friend sufficiently devoted to follow him in his self-imposed exile. She did not however tell me the place he had chosen for his future abode, nor did I question her on the subject.* She also informed me that the Emperor was at Malmaison ; that he was to leave that place on the same day, or, at latest, on the next, the 29th, for Rochefort, where the Minister of the Navy had two frigates in readiness to escort him to America. She added that the Emperor's mother, Prince Lucien, Prince Jerome and Cardinal Fesch had left Paris for either Switzerland or Italy, and that she herself, with her two daughters, were about to reside with her

* I learned, a few months afterwards, by a letter from Joseph himself, that he had decided on the United States, and had safely arrived there.

sister the Princess of Sweden, in a country house belonging to the latter at Auteuil, where under the protection of Sweden, she would be safe from any kind of pursuit or ill treatment.

Thus did a family, who for fifteen years had dazzled Europe with their splendour, and made themselves a mark for envy, utterly disappear from the scene. At the end of the conversation just recorded, I felt like a man awaking from a long dream, and who at first can hardly believe in the reality of the objects he sees about him. Although I ought, for some days past, to have expected such an ending, I was as much surprised as if it had been unforeseen. My thoughts were confused and uncertain. The scene at Blois, when we heard of the first abdication of the Emperor, had greatly impressed me. That fall was great, but not inglorious. The victors respected the great man they had overthrown, and seemed, as it were, astounded at their own victory. They even gave him a place in their own ranks, by retaining for him his title of Emperor. But now, there was nought remaining; power, grandeur, even the name which perpetuated the recollection of these, and was a consolation for their loss; all, all had perished and perished irretrievably!

At the close of this painful interview I returned to the country, to conduct my family to Paris, and on the 29th of June we were settled there.

In consequence of these circumstances, I retired into private life, and as I had no communication with those who at that time were deciding the destinies of France, I can give no particulars of the events that took place from the time of my return to the capital until the 26th of July, when I removed to the country there to live in complete seclusion.

During our absence, our house and premises had been occupied first by General Vandamme's division, and afterwards by various corps belonging to the enemy, who had come there in succession, and had done much damage. Lastly, a detachment of fifty soldiers belonging to the Russian infantry was quartered there under command of an officer. I had however, no complaints to make of the conduct of these troops. The Emperor Alexander had, at my daughter's request, sent us two Cossacks belonging to his guard, who protected us from any excesses. He even came himself, as a Russian officer merely, to make sure that his benevolent intentions had been duly carried out. During his visit we were not aware of his rank, and it was only after he had taken leave of us, that the two Cossacks, who had recognised him, but had kept his secret until then, told us that the officer was their Emperor.

Notwithstanding this generous protection, of which I shall always retain a grateful recollection,

the inevitable and legitimate expenses imposed on us by the four months' sojourn of the troops in our household—expenses that were far beyond our means—the requisitions of forage and provisions, which we also had to furnish, as our share of the general tax levied on the department for the support of the enemy's troops; these expenses—I repeat—quite exceeded our means, and threw our very moderate fortune into a disorder from which we have never been able to extricate it.

The loss of fortune, however, was not the greatest misfortune I had to dread. My son's wound, which medical men had at first thought serious, but not fatal, assumed day by day a more dangerous aspect. The ileum, which they thought had not been touched, had been injured, gangrene set in, and after lingering for nearly six months, and in spite of the care and attention lavished on him, he breathed his last on the 5th of December, 1815. He had not completed his twentieth year, when he received his death-wound on the field of Waterloo.

I will not attempt to describe his mother's grief or mine. This dreadful loss embittered the latter years of our lives; but he died fighting against the invader and for the independence of his country. His was a glorious death, and this is my only remaining consolation.

After the death of my son-in-law and my son, our

reverse of fortune * no longer permitted us to retain the country house to which we had retired in 1814, and we succeeded in selling it towards the end of 1817. There were then two courses open to me. The one was to live in the remote country, which we could have accomplished more easily on the means remaining to us: the other to come to Paris, and encounter severer privations in consequence of the high price of provisions and of house rent, but with the hope of greater liberty by way of compensation. In the then state of France, I was afraid of life in a province, where I should have been a more or less suspected personage, and vigilantly watched by the mayor, the curé, the officer of gendarmerie, and the sub-prefect. In Paris, I should be independent. There were so many persons there to attract the attention of the police, before they reached me in my obscurity, that I had nothing to fear, since it was my intention to deepen that obscurity if possible, rather than to emerge from it. These considerations prevailed and I established myself and my family in the capital, in the month of April, 1818. Being now neither an elector nor eligible, I lived there entirely apart from public affairs,

* My pension as former Councillor of State had been withdrawn in 1815. It was restored to me in 1818, through the influence of Baron Pasquier, who obtained this act of justice, by such efforts and such zeal as might be expected from a former colleague.

weary of the civil strife of my country, and occupied exclusively with those literary labours which in 1835 obtained for me the honour of being made a member of the Institute.

EDITORS' NOTE.

THE reader will remember the circumstance of the passport sent by Count Miot to King Joseph in the April of 1814, one of the conditions of which had deeply offended the King, and had greatly impaired the friendship that had existed for many years between those two personages. It would seem, however, that by the end of the Hundred Days, the cloud had partly cleared away, since Prince Joseph, when he set out for America, in June 1815, had intended asking M. de Melito to join his exile. Time and reflection probably caused the Count de Survilliers to perceive still more clearly how great had been his injustice in visiting on M. de Melito, a restriction placed by the Provisional Government of 1814 on the delivery of a passport to Napoleon's brother. For it is a fact that a few months after his arrival in the United States, M. de Survilliers wrote a friendly letter to Count Miot, and that a regular correspondence was established thenceforth between them, and their former intimacy was renewed.

Count de Survilliers frequently expressed a desire to see his friend, and at the beginning of 1825, M. de Melito received a letter in which he was urged so strongly to visit the Count in his chosen retreat, and the invitation made to him was accompanied by such friendly and affectionate expressions, that Count Miot could not resist them. He resolved on going to the United States, and embarked at Hâvre on the 1st of July, 1825, on board the American steamer *Cadmus*.

After a rough voyage, he reached New York on the 9th of August, and was met immediately on landing by the Count de Survilliers, with whom he remained until the 15th of May 1825, when he embarked on his return to Europe.

According to his custom, Count Miot made notes of all he saw or heard worthy of remark in the course of his travels through several of the States, either alone or in company with M. de Survilliers. But since that time so many excellent works have been published on America; and the institutions, the political government of the United States, and even the manners of the inhabitants have so greatly changed, that what was novel and accurate in 1825, might appear at the present time antiquated and incorrect. These considerations prevent us from publishing that part of Count Miot's journal which relates to his visit to America, and we limit ourselves to transcribing what he learned from Count de Survilliers concerning his departure from France, and his settlement in the United States. We shall thus complete the history of that prince whose life and policy occupy so large a place in these Memoirs.

On leaving Paris at the end of June, 1815, Prince Joseph had turned his steps towards Rochefort, intending to join the Emperor, for whom two frigates were being got ready in that port. But, having learned that an English ship was cruising about, and that it would be impossible to escape it, he resolved on chartering an American vessel that was being laden with brandy in the Charente. By purchasing the cargo, not yet complete, from the Captain, and also paying him a heavy indemnity for the remainder of his profits, he induced him to set sail at once. After having vainly proposed to his brother to take this opportunity of eluding his enemies, he embarked, passed unmolested through the midst of the English squadron, and after a passage of a month and some days at last reached New York. He at first took up his abode in that city where he was taken for General Carnot; but when it became known who he really was, the welcome afforded him by all the most

distinguished men in New York, gave him no cause to regret the loss of his incognito. The interest he excited, the regard which he won by his misfortunes, his philosophic fortitude, his attractive manners and his noble simplicity, soon caused the hospitable land of his retreat to seem to him like a second home. How much more fortunate was he in his choice than his brother, who had imprudently trusted himself to a nation which became a gaoler to the hero who had confided in its generosity !

Having decided on establishing himself altogether in the United States, Joseph Bonaparte, under the name of Count de Survilliers, sent to France for his money, his library and his pictures. He then left the city, his tastes inclining him to a country life, and after residing for some time at a house at Manhattan on the left bank of the Hudson, in the State of New York, he finally purchased the estate of Breezy Point in New Jersey. He occupied himself in improving this property, making it his principal care. The works he undertook, and had carried out by the numerous labourers in his employment, diffused prosperity around and especially in the village of Bordertown ; and far from restricting himself to the embellishment of his own property only, he acted generously towards the country itself ; contributing to the improvement of the roads, by levelling heights, and constructing several bridges at his own cost.

The Government of the States had acknowledged the services and the worth of their illustrious guest by various marks of distinction. The Count de Survilliers, notwithstanding the situation in which circumstances had placed him, and the independence he had thus acquired, had never consented to give up the title of a French citizen, and become naturalised in one of the States, and consequently he could hold no funded property. But the Legislature of New York State relieved him by a formal Act from this incapacity, and conferred on him all the rights of an American citizen without obliging him to assume the name. By means of this honourable exception, he acquired vast estates in the North,

on the banks of the Black River, and became also one of the largest landholders in the State of New York.

Such was the position of Count de Survilliers, when Count Miot de Melito joined him in August 1825. He enjoyed it, and yet was not perfectly happy. Certain recollections, hopes, and illusions, would at times arise before his mind to disturb its serenity. A longing to see Europe once more had not completely died out. Nevertheless, when Count Miot informed him of the negotiations which the Duke de Montmorency had set on foot with the Austrian and Russian Ministers, of which the result had been that those Powers would never consent to his residing in Italy, he seemed to give up the intention of returning to Europe, and his subsequent refusal of the offer of the Low Countries as a place of residence would seem to show that his renunciation was sincere. Moreover, had he not wished for Italy in particular, he might long before have taken up his abode in the North of Europe. His brother-in-law, the King of Sweden, and the Emperor Alexander, who had shown unabated interest in him, had offered him hospitality, but the climate, whose severity he dreaded, caused him to decline it.

In their conversations, Count Miot endeavoured to confirm him in his resolution not to leave America, but the sequel has shown that he did not altogether succeed. Everybody knows how greatly the events of July 1830, agitated the Count de Survilliers in his retreat, and that he made efforts to maintain the rights of the Napoleon family to the Throne of France, efforts that must needs be fruitless at that period. After crossing the Atlantic several times, he finally returned to Europe, and after several apoplectic attacks had reduced him to a deplorable condition of mind and body, he obtained permission to join his wife at Florence, where he died in 1844.

APPENDIX.

Note 1, Vol. 1., page 616.

THE 'Lady-in-waiting' to whom the author alludes, was Madame de Rémusat. In her Memoirs she gives the following account of the conduct of the wife of the First Consul in the matter of the execution of the Duc d'Enghien:

"Madame Bonaparte, informed me that we were to pass that week at Malmaison. 'I am very glad,' she added; 'Paris frightens me just now.' Shortly afterwards we set out; Bonaparte was in his own carriage. Madame Bonaparte and myself were in hers. I observed that she was silent and sad for a part of the way, and I let her see that I was uneasy about her. At first she seemed reluctant to give me any explanation, but at length she said, 'I am going to trust you with a great secret. This morning Bonaparte told me that he had sent M. de Canlancourt to the frontier to seize the Duc d'Enghien. He is to be brought back here.' 'Ah, Madame,' I exclaimed, 'what are they going to do with him?' 'I believe,' she answered, 'he will have him tried.' I do not think I have ever in my life experienced such a thrill of terror as that which her words sent through me. Madame Bonaparte thought I was going to faint, and let down all the glasses. 'I have done what I could,' she went on, 'to induce him to promise me that the prince's life shall not be taken, but I am greatly afraid his mind is made up.' 'What, do you

Pages 187-8.

“My profound emotion distressed Madame Bonaparte. She had great faith in all Bonaparte’s views, and owing to her natural levity and fickleness, she excessively disliked painful or lasting impressions. Her feelings were quick but extraordinarily evanescent. Being convinced that the death of the Duc d’Enghien was inevitable, she wanted to get rid of an unavailing regret ; but I would not allow her to do so. I importuned her all day long without ceasing. She listened to me with extreme gentleness and kindness but in utter dejection ; she knew Bonaparte better than I. I wept while talking to her ; I implored her not to allow herself to be put down, and, as I was not without influence over her, I succeeded in inducing her to make a last attempt.”

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“On the Tuesday morning, Madame Bonaparte said to me, ‘all is useless ; the Duc d’Enghien arrives this evening. He will be taken to Vincennes and tried to-night. Murat has undertaken the whole. He is odious in this matter ; it is he who is urging Bonaparte on, by telling him that his clemency will be taken for weakness, that the Jacobins will be furious, and one party is now displeased because the former fame of Moreau has not been taken into consideration, and will ask why a Bourbon should be differently treated. Bonaparte has forbidden me to speak to him again on the subject. He asked me about you,’ she added, ‘and I acknowledged that I had told you everything. He had perceived your distress. Pray try to control yourself.’”

Extract from a Note by M. Paul de Rémusat. Page 208.

“The ‘Mémorial de S^{te} Hélène’ denies, however, that Bonaparte had to refuse any entreaties for clemency. The imaginary scene in which Joséphine begs on her knees for

APPENDIX.

the Duc d'Enghien, and, clinging to the coat of arms, was dragged along the ground by her inexorable fate. This is one of those melodramatic inventions with which the novel-writers of the present day compose their romances. On the evening of the 19th of March, she was in ignorance that the Duc d'Enghien was to be executed; she only knew that he had been arrested. She had come to Rome to interest herself in his fate."

Despatch from Lord Wellington respecting the Battle of The Arapiles.

"Flores de Avila, 24th July, 1812.

MY LORD.

I enclose, for your camp, Captain Lord Clinton, will present to you this account of a victory which the allied army command gained in a general action, fought on the evening of the 22nd inst., which I defer the necessity of delaying to send till now, engaged ever since the action in the pursuit of flying troops.

On the 21st, I informed your Lordship that the army was near the Tormes; and the enemy crossed the river, the greatest part of his troops, in the afternoon, between the Alba de Tormes and Huerta, and their left towards the roads leading to Ciudad-

Real, the army, with the exception of the 3rd division, D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes by the bridge of Salamanca and the fords in the morning; and I placed the troops in a position, of which it was upon one of the two heights called Dos Hermanas, the left on the Tormes, [below the ford of

the 3rd division, and Brigadier-General D'Urban's division, left at Cabrerizos, on the right of the Tormes, and still a large corps on the heights above the river on the same side of the river; and I considered

it not improbable that, finding our army prepared for them in the morning on the left of the Tormes, they would alter their plan and manœuvre by the other bank.

“ In the course of the night of the 21st, I received intelligence, of the truth of which I could not doubt, that General Clausel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th with the cavalry and horse artillery of the Army of the North to join Marshal Marmont, and I was quite certain that these troops would join him on the 22nd or 23rd at latest.

“ There was no time to be lost therefore ; and I determined that, if circumstances should not permit me to attack him on the 22nd, I would move towards Ciudad-Rodrigo without further loss of time, as the difference of the numbers of the cavalry might have made a march of manœuvre ~~as we~~ have had for the last four or five days very ~~difficult~~ ^{difficult}, and its result doubtful.

“ During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarassa de Arriba, and of the heights near it called N. S. de la Peña, our cavalry being in possession of Calvarassa de Abaxo ; and shortly after daylight, detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from our right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles. The enemy, however, succeeded ; their detachments being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer the hill than we were ; by which success they strengthened materially their own position, and had in their power increased means of annoying ours.

“ In the morning the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th caçadores belonging to General Sack's brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the height called N. S. de la Peña, on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day. The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles rendered it necessary for me to extend the right of the army en potence to the height behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with the light infantry ; and here I placed the 4th division, under the command of Lieut.-General the Hon.

division, under Lieut.-General Leith, the 4th division, under Lieut.-General the Hon. L. Cole, and the cavalry, under Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, the 7th, under Major-General Hope, and Don Carlos de España's Spanish division; and Brig.-General Pack should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of the Dos Arapiles which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

“ The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described and completely succeeded.

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“ After the crest of the height was reached, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which, after a severe contest, was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th division, after the failure of Brig.-General Pack's attack upon the Arapiles, and Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. L. Cole having been wounded. Marshal Sir W. Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, directed Brig.-General Spring's brigade of the 5th division, which was in the second line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and, I am sorry to add that, while engaged in this service he received a wound which I am apprehensive will deprive me of the benefit of his counsel and assistance for some time. Nearly about the same time Lieut.-General Leith received a wound which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field. I ordered up the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, to relieve the 4th, and the battle was soon restored to its former success.

“ The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist; and I ordered the first and light divisions, and Colonel Stubbs' Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, which was reformed, and Major-General W. Anson's brigade, likewise of the 4th

division, to turn the right, while the 6th division supported by the 3rd and the 5th, attacked the front. It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division; and the enemy fled through the woods towards the Tormes. I pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and Major-General W. Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and some squadrons of cavalry under Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, as long as we could find any of them together, directing our march upon Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover who must otherwise have been in our hands. I am sorry to report that, owing to the same cause, Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton was unfortunately wounded by one of our own sentries after we had halted.

"We renewed the pursuit at the break of day in the morning with the same troops, and Major-General Bock's and Major-General Anson's brigades of cavalry, which joined during the night; and having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear of cavalry and infantry near La Serna. They were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade of the King's German Legion, under Major-General Bock, which was completely successful; and the whole body of infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's 1st division, were made prisoners. The pursuit was afterwards continued as far as Señaranda last night, and our troops were still following the flying enemy. Their headquarters were in this town, not less than 10 leagues from the field of battle, for a few hours last night; and they are now considerably advanced on the road towards Valladolid, by Arevalo. They were joined yesterday on their retreat by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the North, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much use to them.

"It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the

enemy's loss in this action ; but, from all reports, it is very considerable. We have taken from them 11 pieces of cannon several ammunition waggons, 2 eagles, and 6 colours ; and 1 general, 3 colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, and between 6000 and 7000 soldiers and prisoners ; and our detachment are sending in more at every moment. The number of dead on the field is very large.

"I am informed that Marshal Marmont is badly wounded and has lost one of his arms ; and that four General Officers have been killed and several wounded. Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side, but it certainly has not been of a magnitude to distress the army or to cripple its operations.

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"Captain Lord Clinton will have the honour of laying at the feet of H.R.H. the Prince Regent the eagles and colours taken from the enemy in this action."

" Flores de Avila, 24th July, 1812.

" TO EARL BATHURST.

"I hope that you will be pleased with our battle, of which the dispatch contains as accurate an account as I can give you. There was no mistake ; everything went on as it ought and there never was an army so beaten in so short a time. If we had had another hour or two of daylight, not a man would have passed the Tormes ; and as it was, they would all have been taken if — — had left the garrison in Alba de Tormes as I wished and desired ; or having taken it away, as I believe, before he was aware of my wishes, he had informed me that it was not there. If he had, I should have marched in the night upon Alba, where I should have caught them all, instead of upon the fords of the Tormes. But this is a little misfortune, which does not diminish the honour acquired by the troops in the action, nor, I hope, the advantage to be derived from it by the country ; as I do not believe there are many soldiers who were in the action, who are likely to face us again till they shall be very largely reinforced indeed."

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